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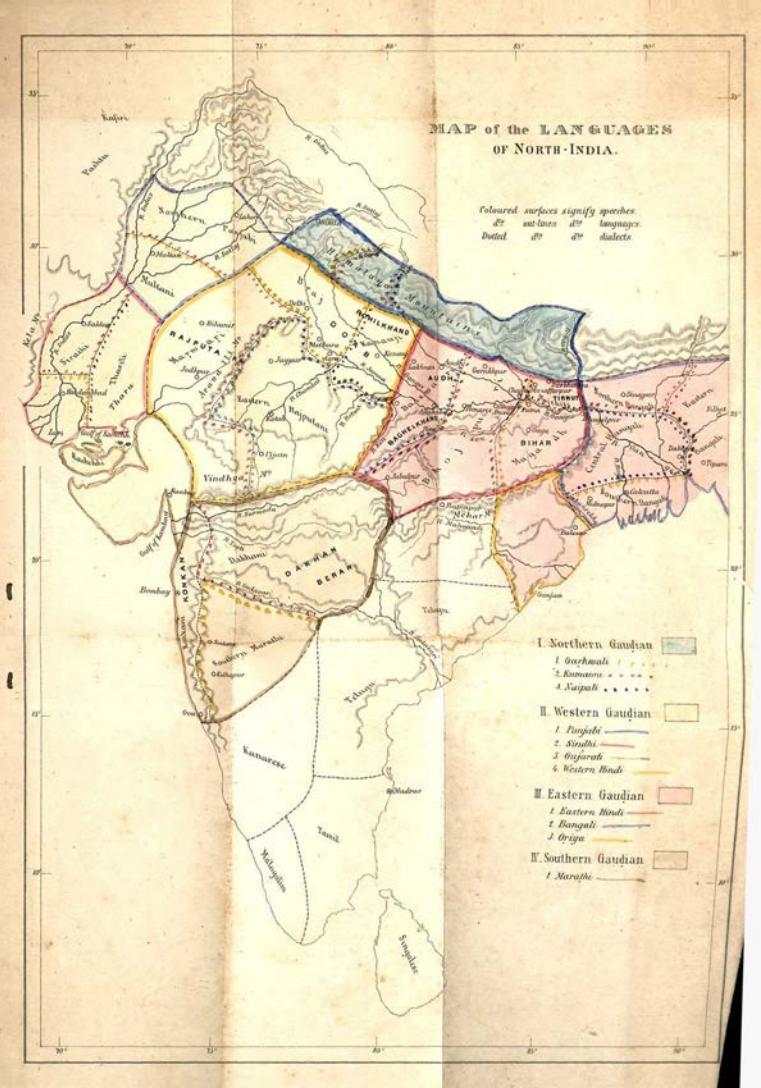
MAP of the LANGUAGES
OF NORTH-INDIA.
Coloured surfaces signify speeches.
Dº outlines Dº languages.
Dotted Dº Dº dialects.
I. Northern Gaudian
1. Garhwali
2. Kumaoni
3. Nepali
II. Western Gaudian
1. Punjabi
2. Sindhi
3. Gujarati
4. Western Hindi
III. Eastern Gaudian
1. Eastern Hindi
2. Bangali
3. Oriya
IV. Southern Gaudian
1. Marathi
Kafiristan
Pashtu
Northern
Punjabi
Multani
Sindhi
Thareli
Jaisalmir
Kachchh
Rajputana
Western
Hindi
Bikaner
Jaypur
Marwar
Jodhpur
Aravalli Mts
Eastern
Rajputani
Ajmer
Mewar
Malwa
Vindhya Mts
Gulf of Cambay
Bombay
Konkan
Dakhani
Southern Marathi
Dharwar
Belgaum
Goa
Kanara
Tulava
Kanarese
Madras
Tamil
Malayalim
Singalese
Doab
Rohilkhand
Gangetic Mts
Kumaon
Garhwal
Kedarnath
Badrinath
Srinagar
Hardwar
Dehli
Agra
Kalpi
Gwalior
Jhansi
Bundelkhand
Bagelkhand
Audh
Lucknow
Benares
Allahabad
Tirhut
Bihar
Monghyr
Rajmahal
Calcutta
Hugly
Chandernagore
Serampur
Burdwan
Midnapur
Jessore
Dacca
Sylhet
Tipura
Chittagong
Arracan
Ava
Pegu
Martaban
Tenasserim
Junkseylon
Penang
Malacca
Singapore

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A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

EASTERN HINDI

ACCOMPANIED BY

A LANGUAGE-MAP AND A TABLE OF ALPHABETS

BY

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

LONDON
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1880

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TO

KARL STEFFENSEN

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL

IN

GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF THE

YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE

This Volume

IS

DEDICATED.

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.

PREFACE.

In order to account for the perhaps somewhat unusual arrangement of this book, I must explain, that my original plan was merely to write a Grammar of the Eastern Hindí accompanied by short notes, pointing out its Gaudian affinities. Gradually these notes grew to such an extent as to change almost entirely the character of the book, which in its present state is rather a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages than a simple grammar of the Eastern Hindí. The two subjects have been kept apart as much as possible, so as to enable the reader to use the book ad libitum for the study of either, the Eastern Hindí only, or the Gaudian generally. For this purpose the comparative matter has been mainly distributed in the paragraphs headed „Affinities" and „Derivation"; the others refer to Eastern Hindí. To further increase the usefulness of the book an index of such Gaudian words as are explained in the Grammar is in course of preparation and will shortly be published.

The amount of information contained within this volume, is very much more than may appear at first sight. An idea of its extent may be gained by a glance over the index of subjects. Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindí most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire

ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar, but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter, especially in regard to the derivation of Gaudian grammatical forms from the Prákṛits. It was not easy to compress all this mass of information within one comparatively small volume to which, for various reasons, it was necessary to confine the work. This necessity will account for the perhaps excessive conciseness of diction and the extensive use of abbreviations; an inconvenience for which, I feel, I must crave the indulgence of the reader, but which, by the help of the prefixed list of abbreviations, I hope will prove no serious difficulty.

As regards the sources of my materials for the grammar of Eastern Hindí, in the absence of all literature (except in the Baiswárí), I had to rely almost entirely on the information, partly obtained through long personal intercourse with the people, but especially supplied by native scholars or (in a few cases) by Europeans intimately acquainted with the country people. Among the former it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the very efficient help rendered me by the kindness of Pandit Gopál Bhaṭṭa, Professor of Sanskrit at the Jay Narain's College in Benares, who to a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit adds an intimate acquaintance of the Vernaculars as spoken by the people, representatives of whom, from every part of India, may be met with in Benares.

As regards the comparative portion of the book, every work that I could think of as bearing on the subject has been consulted. Most of these will be found mentioned in the list of abbreviations. A few works, such as E. Müller on the Jaina Prákṛit, Jacobi's edition of the Kalpasútra, A. Grierson's Maithilí Grammar, unfortunately came into my hands too late to be turned to account. Most of the Prákṛit Grammarians (such as Már-

kaṇḍeya, Ṣubhachandra, Kramadíṣvara, Trivikrama, Siṃharája etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe, which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.

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Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.
Table of Alphabets; opp. page. 2.

Note: See also „Affinities" and „Derivation" in the Index of Subjects, p. 407.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Gr. = Translation of the Âdi Granth by Trumpp.
A. Mg. = Ardha Mágadhí Prákṛit.
Ap. or *Ap. Pr.* = Apabhraṃsa Prákṛit.
Ap. Mg. = Apabhraṃsa Mágadhí Prákṛit.
Ap. Śr. = Apabhraṃsa Śaurasení Prákṛit.

B. = Bengálí.
B. H. Dy. = Bate's Hindí Dictionary.
Bh. = Bhojpurí.
Bhag. or *Bh.* = Bhagavatí.
Br. = Braj.
Bs. = Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages.
Bs. or *Bw.* = Baiswárí.

Cw. = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's Prákṛita Prakáśa.

Dk. = Dakshiṇátya Prákṛit.
Dl. = Delius' Radices Pracriticae.

E., in conjunction with other initials, = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* = Eastern Hindí, *E. Gḍ.* = E. Gaudian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Rájpútání.
Eth. = Etherington's Hindí Grammar.

G. = Gujarátí.
Gḍ. = Gaudian.
Gh. or *Gw.* = Garhwálí.
Gl. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

H. = Hindí; or, in conjunction with other initials, = High; as *H. H.* = High Hindí, *H. B.* = High Bengálí.
H. C. = Hema Chandra's Prákṛit Grammar (ed. Pischel).

J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. G. O. S. = Journal of the German Oriental Society.

K. I. = Kramadíśvara's Prákṛit Grammar.
Kf. = Kafirí.
Kl. = Kellogg's Hindí Grammar.
Km. = Kumaoní.
Kn. = Kanaují.
Ksh. = Kashmírí.
Kth. = Kaithí.

Ld. = Panjábí Grammar printed in Loodiana.
L. Dh. = Lakshmí Dhara's Shaḍbhásha chandriká.
Ls. = Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae.

M. = Maráṭhí; or, in conjunction

with other initials, = Modern; as *M. Gḍ.* = Modern Gauḍian, *M. M.* = Modern Maráṭhí.

M. M. = Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar.

M. W. = Moniers William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Man. = Student's Manual of Maráṭhí Grammar.

Mcch. = Mṛchchhakaṭiká (ed. Stenzler).

Md. = Márkaṇḍeya's Prákṛit Grammar.

Mg. = Mágadhí Prákṛit.

Mh. = Máhárâshṭrí Prákṛit.

Mh. Sr. = Mahárâshṭrí-Saurasení Prákṛit.

Mr. or *Mw.* = Márwárí.

Ms. = Mason's Páli Grammar.

Mth. = Maithilí.

N. = Naipálí.

N. Gḍ. = Northern Gauḍian.

O. = Oṛíyá; or, in conjunction with other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* = Old Hindí, *O. W. H.* = Old Western Hindí, *O. P.* = Old Panjábí; *O. S.* = Old Sindhí, *O. Gḍ.* = Old Gauḍian.

P. = Panjábí.

Pl. = Pischel's Dissertatio Inauguralis.

Pr. = Prákṛit.

Pr. or *Pers.* = Persian.

Pr. R. = Prithiráj Rasau by Chand Bardáí.

Ps. = Paiśáchí Prákṛit.

Psh. = Pashtú.

Rj. = Rájpútání.

R. T. = Ráma Tarkavajíśás Prákṛit Grammar.

S. = Sindhí.

S. C. = Śubha Chandra's Prákṛit Grammar.

S. Ch. = Shama Charan's Bangálí Grammar.

S. D. = Sahitya Darpana.

S. Gḍ. = Southern Gauḍian.

S. Gdt. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

S. L. = St. Luke translated into Naipálí.

S. R. = Siṃha Rájá's Prákṛit Grammar.

Skr. = Saṃskṛit.

Sn. = Sutton's Oṛíyá Grammar.

Spt. = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).

Sr. = Saurasení Prákṛit.

St. G. = Stanislas Guyard's Grammaire Palie.

T. D. or *T. Das.* = Tulsí Dás' Rámáyan.

T. V. = Trivikrama's Prákṛit Gramm.

Tr. = Trumpp's Sindhí Grammar.

Ved. = Vedic.

Vr. = Vararuchi's Prákṛit Grammar (ed. Cowell).

W., in conjunction with other initials, = Western; as *W. Gḍ.* = Western Gauḍian, *W. H.* = Western Hindí, *W. Rj.* = Western Rájpútání.

Wb. = Weber's edition of the Sapta Śataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhagavatí (*Bh.*).

GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

abl. = ablative.
acc. = accusative.
act. = active (case or voice or verb).
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb or adverbial.
aff. = affix.
auxil. = auxiliary.

c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.
C. R. = Causal Roots.
C. V. = Causal Verb.
cl. = class.
comp. = compound.
Cp. R. = Compound Roots.
cond. = conditional.
conj. = conjunct or conjunction or conjunctive mood.
conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.
cons. = consonant.
constr. = construction.
contr. = contracted or contraction.

D.R. or Dm.R. = Denominative Roots.
dat. = dative.
Db. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.
dem. = demonstrative pronoun.
der. or deriv. = derivative.
dir. = direct.
Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.
du. = dual.

emph. = emphatic.
euph. = euphonic.
exc. = except or exception.

f. or fem. = feminine.
fut. = future.

gen. = genitive or general.

imp. or imper. = imperative mood.
ind. or indic. = indicative mood.
indef. = indefinite or indefinitive.
inf. = infinitive.
instr. = instrumentalis.
inter. or interrog. = interrogative pronoun.
intr. = intransitive.
intr. V. = intransitive Verb.

lg. f. = long form.
loc. = locative.

m. or masc. = masculine.

N. = noun.
n. or neut. = neuter.
nom. = nominative.
num. = numeral.

obl. = oblique.
orig. = original.

P. P. = past participle.
P. R. = Primitive Roots.
part. = participle.
pass. = passive.
pers. = person or personal.
pl. or plur. = plural.
pleon. = pleonastic.
postpos. = postposition.
prec. = precative.
pret. = preterite.
pron. = pronoun or pronominal.

qual. = quality.
qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.
quant. = quantity.
quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.

R. = root.
red. f. = redundant form.
refl. = reflexive pronoun.
rel. = relative pronoun.
resp. = respectively.

S. = suffix.
S. R. = Simple Roots.
S. V. = Simple Verb.
sg. or sing. = singular.
sh. f. = short form.
st. f. = strong form.
subst. = Substantive.
suff. = suffix.

tbh. or tadbh. = tadbhava.
term. or termin. = termination.
tr. = transitive.
Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.
ts. = tats. or tatsama.

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

An asterisk (*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUDIAN[1]) LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhí, Gujarátí, Panjábí, Hindí, Bangálí, Oríya, Maráthí. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions, or fully 1/4 of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindí (including under this term Hindústání or Urdú); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindí area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindí are merely two different dialects of

1) I have adopted the term Gaudian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.

the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extents in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhyá range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K., and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwálí, Kumaoní and Naipálí are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwálí is spoken between the Satlaj and

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gaudian.*

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lárí or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráthí area is bounded by the Vindhyá mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkaní and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkan or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;

the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráṭhí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráṭhí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráṭhí has the Drávidian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oríya area is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráṭhí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálí area ist nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, an other in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, howerer, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájpútáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwárí or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájpút tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájpútáná, spoken about Jaypúr and Kotah, on

the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Bráj Bhásha or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen", the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaují spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswárí or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájpút tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájpút tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpúr, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges[1]). *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tirhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kuńwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpurí language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (बाभन) or Bhuinhárs (भूँइहार = landleute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told." Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 464 (new series).

so after the ancient city of Mithilá, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhút (Tírabhukti). *Eightly*, the Mágadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayá, Patná and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rájpútáná, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *á* or *ia*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindí language; the western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High-Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwárí; afterwards Urdú was changed into High-Hindí. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústáni, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century [1]) in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Márwárí and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (*urdú*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

1) The great battle of Pánipat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindú and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú ruler (*Prithiráj*) fell in the battle.

intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjábí and Márwárí forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindí, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *á* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Márwárí *o*, is a bit of Panjábí; again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Márwárí [1]). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdú. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihaum* or in *aumgau* (1st pers. sg.); Urdú has retained only the latter in the form *úmgá*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjábí *ámgá*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdú was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindí area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindí dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindú revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdú, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindí by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdú and High-Hindí are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindí area; viz. the H. Hindí or Urdú, the W. Hindí, and the E. Hindí. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ne*, in P. *núm*, in Br. *kaum*, see § 371.

the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80th degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bháshá is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80th degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswárí, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakeable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

formation of the past tense, Maithilí agrees very closely with Bangálí, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpúrí as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindí (i. e., other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

Firstly; as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *ṛ* or *ṛh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h* [1]). 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonically an initial *y* or *v* [2]). 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ĕ*, *aĭ*, *ŏ*, *aŭ* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *aï* and *aü*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au* [3]) (see § 68).

Secondly; as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a-base* has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *e*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

1) e. g., E. H., *dihal* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

2) e. g., E. H., *e me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá meṃ*, *vá meṃ*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baïṭhai* he sits, W. H. *baiṭhe*; E. H. *aür* and, W. H. *aur*.

48. 433. 437, 4)[1]). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)[2]). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *a* of masculine nouns with an *a-base*, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*[3]) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *au*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ai* (see § 202)[4]). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)[5]).

Thirdly; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension:* 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)[6]). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)[7]). *Next as to conjugation:* 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present; in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)[8]). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yau* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)[9]). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gau* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)[10]). 4) While E. H.

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1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *jo*.

2) E. H. *morí* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *merí* or *márí*.

3) e. g., E. H. *baṛ* great, W. H. *baṛau;* E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau;* E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *paṛhal* read, W. H. *paṛhyau*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kaiłčs* he did, W. H. *vą ne kiyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghorá kai*, W. H. *ghoṛe kau* of nom. *ghoṛá* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaihai* or *hvaichhai*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karaboṃ* I shall do, W. H. *karihauṃ* or *karasuṃ* (or *karauṃgau*).

possesses the infinitive in *aḃ* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261) [1]).

Fourthly; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (in *ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

Fifthly; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bạtai* he is, past *raḥal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jin*, in W. H. *mat*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare* *for the sake of*, in W. H. *liye*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipálí) and south (Maráṭhí). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangálí and Oriya; to the west Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *aï* and *aü* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ĕ* and *ŏ*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a-base*, gene-

1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaum* or *karanaum*.

rally, the weak form in *ă*; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á*; their past tense is made with *il* and their future tense and infinitive with *ib*; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from E. H. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. H., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gd. languages.

The case of W H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer *r̥*, *l̥*, to *r* and *n*; and *ai* and *au* to *aï* and *aü*; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *v*, but have no short *ĕ* and *ŏ*; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*[1]); their pronouns have no long form in *na*[2]), and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au*; they have an active case made with *ne*[3]), and an oblique form singular in *e*[4]) of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or P. *á*); they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, and an infinitive with *an*; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as*; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups[5]), yet it is complete in the most

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1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in *á*; G. short pron. end in *e*, exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in *á*.

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).

important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a-base,* whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502. 503), which they form a little differently [1]), but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswárí.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. H., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. H., P., G. and S.

1) e. g., E. H. *paṛhyoṃ* I read, B. *paṛhiyáchhi,* O. *paṛhiachhuṃ,* but W. H. *paṛhyau.*

These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudiau* and the *Western Gaudian speeches* or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráṭhí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráṭhí is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipálí to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráṭhí, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular[1]); 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

1) e. g., gen. *ghoḍyá chá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá chá* of *vichú* scorpion; *páṇyá chá* of *páṇí* water.

stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gḍ., and the other in *la* E. Gḍ.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gḍ. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11. 16. 18); 2) the *o* termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interog. pron. *koṇ* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gḍ. rather than with the W. Gḍ. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gḍ., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gḍ., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gḍ. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics [1]).

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichú* scorpion for *vichhú*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430, 5) [2]);

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50): „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindí) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Maráṭhí) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say.“ The reason simply is, that although syntacticelly G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M., while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e. g., M. *májhá* mine, but E. Gḍ. *mor*, W. Gḍ. *merau* or *máro*.

3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)[1]; 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gd. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *ún* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gd. nor W. Gd., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called in this treatise, the *Southern Gaudian speech.*

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráthí. It agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a-base*; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gd., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iyo* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gd. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally[2]; 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 363)[3]; and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gd. in *three,* and with the E. Gd. in *three;* but while of the former all three, of the

1) e. g., *gharáof ghar* house; *kaví* of *kavi* poët; *gurú* of *guru* teacher; *ghoḍyá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *páṇyá* of *páṇí* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short ĕ and ŏ.

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuro* word.

latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gḍ. than to the E. Gḍ. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant[1]); 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant[2]); 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gḍ., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gḍ. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gḍ., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gḍ., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gḍ., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gḍ.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gḍ., W. Gḍ., S. Gḍ., and E. Gḍ.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ., the other the S. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

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1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *áphu* self, for H. *ap*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *age*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bálakh* child, for H. *bálak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *mājhad* for H. *mājat*, Pr. *majjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasení Prákrit tongue* and the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prákrit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prákrit; viz. the Prákrit proper, the Śaurasení, the Mágadhí and the Paiśáchí. The first of these is commonly called the Mahárâshṭrí (now Maráṭhí); the Śaurasení (now Braj) and Mágadhí (now Bihárí) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paiśáchí is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians [1]) to Nepál among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prákrit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prákrits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prákrits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prákrit. One includes the Śaurasení and the (so-called) Mahárâshṭrí. These are said to be the prose and poëtic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Mágadhí. The relation of Paiśáchí to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prákrit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmídhara in his Shaḍbhásháchandriká, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prákrit (or Paiśáchí) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paiśáchí. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himálaya, Nepál) and south (Pandya, Dakhan)[1]. Again the most striking feature of the Paiśáchí is its change of the Aryan *n*, *l* and the sonants into *n*, *l* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drávidian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drávidians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paiśáchí speech would naturally die out[2]); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drávidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃśa* Prákrit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakshmídhara in the Shaḍbhásháchandriká says: piśáchadeśás tu vṛddhair uktáḥ, páṇḍya kekaya váhlíka sahya nepála kuntaláḥ, sudesha bhota gándhára haiva kanojanás tathá. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paiśáchí change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paiśáchí found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient Bṛhatkathá of Guṇádhya is supposed to have been written in a Paiśáchí dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prákrit (i. e., the Mh.-Ṣr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Ṣaurasení and Mágadhí, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahárâshṭrí [1]). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃsa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paiṣáchí. The Apabhraṃsa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paiṣáchí in the mouth of the aborigines [2]). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃsa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paiṣáchí and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pálí. In order of time, therefore, Ps. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gḍ.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pálí), Ap. Pr., Gḍ. [3]).

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1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Ṣr. and early Ap. *kaḍhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kaḍhide* or *kahide*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiu* „said".

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Ps. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Ps.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Ps., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Ps. is Vararuchi in the 1st cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Ps. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prákrit.

3) Paiṣ. or Pál. or Anc. Ap. *kaṭhito*, Ap. Pr. *kaḍhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo said*; Ps. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roïdo*, W. Gḍ. *roïo* or *royo wept*; Pál. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Ṣr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *gaïl* or *gelá* or W. Gḍ. *gaǰo* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhraṃsa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃsa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „*the Abhíras and other similar people*“[1]), i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhírí (Sindhí, Marwárí), Âvantí (E. Rájpútání), Gaurjarí (Gujarátí), Báhlíká (Panjábí), Ṣaurasení (W. Hindí), Mágadhí or Práchyá (E. Hindí), Ọdrí (Oṛíyá), Gauḍí (Bangálí), Dákshinátyá or Vaidarbhiká (Maráṭhí) and Saippalí (Naipálí?)[2]).

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Ṣaurasení and Mágadhí Prákrits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prákrits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahárâshṭrí Prákrit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahárâshṭra (or Maráṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhraṃsas tu bhâshá syád abhirádigiráṃ chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhírs, or Ahírs as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds hy profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rájpúts.

2) See the lists of K. I. and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasení[1]). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Śubhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Maráṭhí vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prákrit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Márkaṇḍeya, Lakshmídhara, Rámatarkavágíśa, etc., that the name Mahárâshṭrí is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahárâshṭra country[2]). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prákrit of the great kingdom" (i. e., of the famed country of the Doáb and Rájpútáná, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prákrit. According to this view the term Mahárâshṭrí is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindí. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called *is* Western Hindí, and has no one point in common with Maráṭhí, in which the latter differs from Western Hindí (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a-base* and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Máhárâshṭrí" (*śeshaṃ máhárâshṭrívat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prákrit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prákrit of the Mahárâshṭra country is the principal Prâkrit" (*prákṛtam mahárâshṭradeśiyaṃ prakṛshṭabhâshâṇam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Śr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śúrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent tho old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose[1]).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhramśas or vernaculars a Mágadhí and a Śauraseni Apabhramśa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Mágadhí and the Śauraseni-Máhárāshṭrí, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhramśa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Śr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Márkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Mágadhí, Arddhamá-

1) Thus Viśvanátha Kavirája in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshiṇátyá, Utkalí, and Ṣábarí [1]). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maithilí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhi and Ṣaurasení (or Máhárâshṭrí)[2]); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the *E. H. *proper*. Dákshiṇátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár[3]) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráṭhí, and thus to this language generally[4]). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oríyá. Ṣábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshiṇátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oríyá and Maráṭhí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gauḍian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue.*

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Ṣr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

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1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kalpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Mḍ. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Sr. (*saurasenyá adúratvád iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata;* 12th pada, fol. 49.); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*máhárâshṭrímiṣrárddhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Máhárâshṭrí-Ṣaurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshiṇátyá vaidarbhí* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshiṇátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráṭhí; e. g., Maráṭhí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshiṇátya Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Máhárâshtrí, Śaurasení, Âvantí, Prâchyá, and Sakkí. The Máhárâshtrí and Śaurasení together represent W. Hindí; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjábí, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)[1]). Âvantí is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rájpútáná. Prâchyá, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswárí[2]). Sakkí is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjáb[3]). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindí, Gujarátí, Panjábí and Sindhí. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipálí must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasení Prákrit tongue.*

1) Śúrasená is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kátyáyana, the author of the Vártikas on Páṇini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindú tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king" Vikramáditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country" or Máhárâshtrí, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as *the* standard Prákrit.

2) Prâchyá is explained in the S. D. as being equivalent to Gaudí (*prâchyá gaudíyá*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangálí. But, on the other hand, Mḍ. makes Prâchyá to be an offshoot of Śaurasení (*prâchyásiddhiḥ śaurasenyáḥ* 10th páda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandí (see Ls. 33), the Gaudí follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃśas, both Mḍ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prâchá from the Gaudí. If, then, the Gaudí is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswárí, the intermediate dialect between E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ.

3) Sakkí is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramáditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gḍ. and Ṣr. Pr. with N.-W. Gḍ. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃṣas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being deṣya (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃṣa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prákrit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃṣa as the other is *the* Prákrit[1]). But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Md. this chief Ap. is called Nágarápabhraṃṣa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Ṣr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nágaraṃ tu máhárâshṭrísaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitaṃ*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareï dhareï ityadau tasya svaraṣeshatvaṃ mahárâshṭryâṣrayeṇa karedi dharedi ity ádau datvaṃ ṣaurasenyâṣrayeṇa mantavyam* (17th páda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gḍ. is shown by the fact, that Md. gives the characteristic W. Gḍ. possess. pronouns *merá, terá*, to the Nág. Ap. (*tvadîye teraṃ, madîye meraṃ* 17th páda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Ṣr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Ṣr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gḍ. and N. Gḍ. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly:* according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *áha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gḍ. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gḍ. in *á*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *á* of *áha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly;* from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gḍ. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gḍ., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akaḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Ṣr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Ṣakarí, Ṣabarí and, by analogy, Dákshiṇátyá (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamágadhí (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly;* in Gḍ. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gḍ. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gḍ. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *ḍa* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Mágadhís *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking[1]). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gḍ. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gḍ. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiàr to the Mh.-Ṣr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव्व *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question[2]).

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1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *iḍa*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Paṇḍits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done". Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *iḍa* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gḍ. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gḍ. together to the old Śr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Śr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ś* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ś, l, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Śr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *śch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *śch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *śch* is *śk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ś*, would pronounce *sk* as *śk*, and the palatal *ś* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *śch*; finally *śch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are *two* steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are *four* steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *śk*, 3) *śk* into *śch*, 4) *śch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *śk*, when the Mh.-Śr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

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they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb *as* „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gá* „gone“ and *lá* „come“ in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Ṣr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.[1]) (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*[2]). The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Ṣr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Śaurasenī tongue* and the *Māgadhī tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gḍ. from those of the S. and E. Gḍ. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Ṣr. area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a-base* in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Kn.; b) the termination *á* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408. 428); but it has numerous examples of *ṣṭ*, where H. C. gives *ṣṭ* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūlīya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *prekṣh „to see"*, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peskadi* (or *peṣkadi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhaï* in T. V. 3, 2 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *káchhe* „near", „at", E. H. *káhī* (Skr. *kakshe*); or B. *máchhi*, M. *māśi*, E. H. *mákhi* (or *máchhi*) „fly" (Skr. *makshikā*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *daṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south" or *dāhin* „right" (Skr. *dakshiṇaḥ*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gḍ. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtaḥ*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Ṣr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailá* „come" (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Ṣr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *nem, núṃ*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Abhírí), though generally classed with the Ṣr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvantí see Ls. 417. 419 [1]).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gḍ. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

1) Still the general character of the Âvantí or E. R. is Ṣaurasení; thus Mḍ. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Ṣr." (*ávantí syán mahárâshṭrîsauraseṅyos tu saṃkarát, anayoḥ saṃkaṛád ávanṭí bhâshá siddhá syát* 11th pâda fol. 47b); and afterwards he says that Bâhlîkî is allied to it (*ávantyâm eva vâhlîkí* ibid. fol. 48a); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Ṣr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Ṣr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The head-quarters of the Ṣr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rájpútáná. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjáb and Western Rájpútáná), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the developement and extension of the Ṣr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Ṣr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gḍ. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)[1]). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gḍ. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gḍ. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gḍ. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gḍ. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gḍ., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive" of which naturally becomes a „middle voice", afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages[2]) has called attention to their many affinities with the Gauḍians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gḍ., the N.-W. Gḍ. or Ṣr. and the S.-E. Gḍ. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gḍ. *á*, Mg. Pr. *aë*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H. [1]); c) the Káfirí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present [2]); d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *š*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gḍ. *chh* [3]); e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *laḥ*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vataḥ*, like the E. H. *baṭe* or *barc*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfirí were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Ṣr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Ṣr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gḍ. and the E. and S. Gḍ. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gḍ. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

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1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kṛal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. **karide*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaṛalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kaïlá* = *karilá*) = Ap. Mg. **karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Ṣr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in *a quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gḍ.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kaṛ* or *kṛah* „done", O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariü*, Mh. Pr. **kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaṛai* = Bs. *karé* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaü*, Mh. Pr. **kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gḍ., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balále* „he will say" = M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolaïlá*.

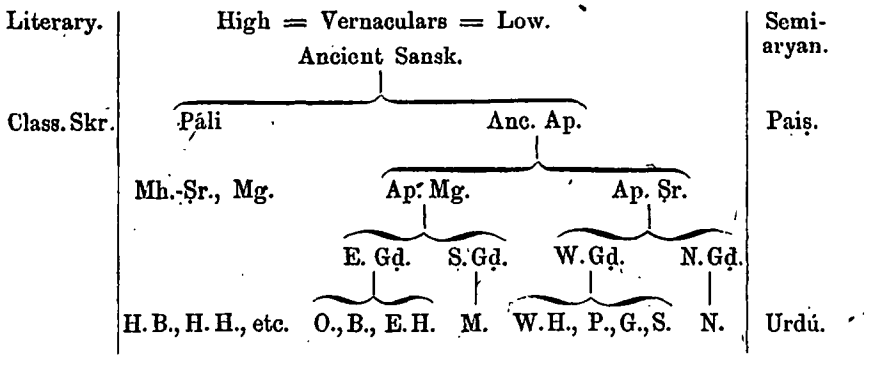
3) e. g., Kf. *šá* „he is" = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *áchhe*.

divisions of the Ṣr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gḍ. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gauḍian poët Chand (end of 12th cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gauḍian poëts Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13th cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gauḍian poët Bidyápati (middle of 14th cent. A. D.[1]) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gḍ. writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráṭhí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gḍ. languages already existing.

Note. I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gḍ. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a-base* is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghoṛá ro*, G. *ghoḍá no* „of a horse"; Br. *ghoṛe kau*, P. *ghoṛe dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *ncṃ*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghoṛai*, G. *ghoḍáe*, „by a horse"; Br. *ghoṛe ncṃ*, P. *ghoṛe nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karaṣi*, G. *karaṣe* but Br., *karihai* „he will do"; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is"; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15th cent.

Table of Affinities.



EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatí and others of the Vaishnava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmíki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswárí, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúṭa in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's histoire de la litterature Hindouie vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poëts wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th cent. He is the author of the Prithiráj Rasau, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15th cent., the author of the Ramainis and Ṣabdas. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the Súrságar, the Bhaktamálá and the Rámchandrika, etc. They flourished in the 16th cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihárí Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the Satsai, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the Chhatra Prakaṣ, in the 17th cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's hist. de la litt. Hind. They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthís) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it" or *Sanskritic.* It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they were in Sanskrit; e. g., E.H. *bhrátá* „brother", *rájá* „king". But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gḍ. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamá* „forgiveness", for Skr. *kshamá;* E. H. *ágyá* „command", for Skr. *ájñá;* E. H. *bisnu* „Vishṇu", for Skr. *vishṇuḥ;* E. H. *kripá* „mercy", for Skr. *kṛpá;* E. H. *karam* „work", for Skr. *karma;* E. H. *putar* „son", for Skr. *putraḥ.* These might be called *semitatsamas.*

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it" or *Prákritic*[1]). It denotes those Gḍ. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gḍ. from the Prákrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of tadbhavas; thus S. R. (fol. 1ᵃ) *saṃskṛtabhavâṣ cha dvidhâ, sâddhyamânasaṃskṛtabhavâs siddhasaṃskṛtabhavâṣ cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so." It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rái* and *ratti* „night" (H. C. 2, 88); both for Skr. *rátriḥ.* The latter (*ratti*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rátriḥ* is *evident* and follows from the *general* rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*rái*) is a *sâddhyamâna tadbhava,* because its identity *must be established* by a *special* rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gḍ. I have a distinguished as semitatsamas from the proper tadbhavas (as *putar* and *pút* „son"), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13—17). But our „semitatsamas" or „late tadbhavas" are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas;* for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Ṣr. Thus compare the following prákritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhái* „brother" for A. Mg. *bháïe;* E. H. *ráy* „king" for A. Mg. *láyá* or *láá;* E. H. *khet* „field" for A. Mg. *khettaṃ* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dáhin* „right" for Pr. *dáhiṇaṃ* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dákshiṇam*); E. H. *án* „order" for Mg. *aññá* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kánh* „krishṇa" for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisán* „husbandman" for A. Mg. *kisáṇe* (Skr. *kṛsháṇaḥ*); E. H. *kám* „work" for A. Mg. *kamme;* E. H. *pút* „son" for A. Mg. *putte;* etc. It should be remembered that the Gḍs. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Ṣr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Ṣr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gḍ. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *ráti* „night", Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rái* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *kháïl* „eaten", Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *kháïda*, but Mh. Pr. *kháïo*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaïs* (= *gaï* + *s* „thou wentest"), for Ap. (Ṣr.) Pr. *gaïu si* or *gaïdo si* or *gamido si* (Pálí *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gaïlẽs* or *gaïlẽs* „thou wentest", for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gaïda si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prákritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town"; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalaṃ* or *ṇaalaṃ*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalaṃ*.

Native grammarians add the *deṣya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava [1]). The term deṣya means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1[a]) *iha prákṛtaṣabdás tridhá, saṃskṛtasamás saṃskṛtabhavá deṣyáṣ cheti;* i. e. „there are three kinds of Prákrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born)."

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Pandits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these deśya words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prákritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when Paiśáchí and the Ancient Apabhraṃśa were spoken by the subject aborgines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭheṭh* or *gámvárí* and the *khaṛí* or *nágarí bháshá*. Theṭh means *genuine* or *pure* and gámvárí means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gáṽ* = *gráma* „village"); again khaṛí means *standard* and nágarí *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town"). The relation of these two bháshás is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the ṭheṭh bháshá the auxiliary verb is pronounced *báṛai* or *bárai*, but in the khaṛí bháshá *báṭai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdú words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. H. appended to this grammar, being written by a Pandit, are rather in the khaṛí than in the ṭheṭh bháshá.

FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

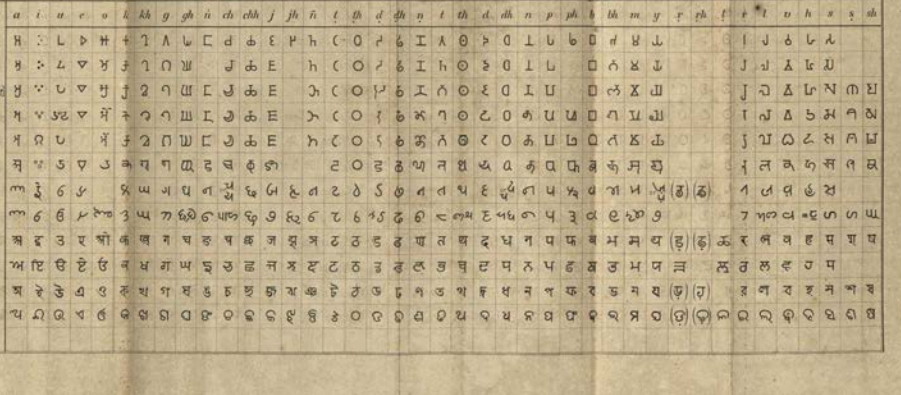
1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कइथी) alphabet. Its name is derived from Káyath (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágarí, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the Kaithí in all letters alike[1]). It will be further noticed, that in Kaithí the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágarí letters: 1) ꣻ (properly = *n*) for the nasals ङ *ṅ*, ञ *ñ*, ण *ṇ*, न *n*; 2) ꣽ (a combination of *s* and *ṣ*) for the sibilants स *s*, श *ṣ*, ष *sh*; 3) ꣿ for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ज (properly = *j*) for the palatals ज *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels Kaithí has only four fundamental signs: ꣳ *ă*, ꣴ *ĭ*, ꣵ *ŭ*, ꣶ *e*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágarí, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *í* and *ú* are rarely distinguished from *ĭ* and *ŭ* or the medial *ú* from *ŭ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágarí, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oṛíyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráṭhá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oṛíyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágarí or Devanágarí and the Mahájaní or Koṭhíwál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágarí (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájaní (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the shorthand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhíwál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágarí, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindí and Maráṭhí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.


a i u e o k kh g gh ṅ ch chh j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r ṛ l ḷ v h s ṣ kṣ
1. Pali: 3rd Cent. B.C.
2. Pali: 4th
3. Pali: 4th (Girnar)
4. Gupta 5th Cent. A.D.
5. Valabhi 4th
6. Kutila 10th Cent. A.D.
7. Kaithi
8. Mahajani
9. Devanagari
10. Panjabi
11. Bangali
12. Oriya

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithí; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ·; *ă*, *á*; *ĭ*, *í*; *ŭ*, *ú*; *ĕ*, *é*; *ŏ*, *ó*; *aĭ*, *aí*; *aŭ*, *aú*. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short *ĕ*, *ŏ*, *aĭ*, *aŭ* are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short *ĕ*, *ŏ*, *aĭ*, *aŭ* I shall adopt the Gurmukhí or Bangálí forms of the ordinary Nágarí signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form (ੇ and ੋ) instead of a slightly curved one (े and ो). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot (·) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke (ा) is placed after it to denote the long *á*; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

Initial: — अ *ă* आ *á* इ *ĭ* ई *í* उ *ŭ* ऊ *ú* ऐ *ĕ* ए *é* ओ *ŏ* ओ *ó* ऐ *aĭ* ऐ *aí* औ *aŭ* औ *aú*

Noninit.: ◌ — ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌ ◌

Note: The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short *ă* has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *viráma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क *kă*, but क् *k*. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क· *k'*, क *kă*, का *ká*, कि *kĭ*, की *kí*, कु *kŭ*, कू *kú*, कै *kĕ*, के *ké*, को *kŏ*, को *kó*, कै *kaĭ*, कै *kaí*, कौ *kaŭ*, कौ *kaú*.

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable, centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as ĕ is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and ŏ like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* ă (see § 24), as घर्‍ *ghar' house*, for घर् *ghar*; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर्‍वा *ghar'vá house*; घोड्‍वा *ghŏṛ'vá horse*; कर्‍तोँ *kar'tõ if I did*; पढ्‍लोँ *paṛh'lõ I read*, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short ĕ, ŏ, *aĭ*, *aŭ* occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया *bĕṭiyá daughter*; परोसिया *parŏsiyá neighbouring*; लोट्‍वा *lŏṭ'vá vessel*; बोलावत् *bŏlávat calling*; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के *kĕ* and कै *kaĭ* as घर् के *ghar kĕ of the house* (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as जेह् कर् *jĕh kar of which* (but जे कर् *jé kar*); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् *ĕs*, ऐन् *ĕn* and ऐँ *aĭ̃* (see §§ 504. 506); as कर्‍तेस् *kar'tĕs* (if) *thou didst*; पढ्‍लेस् *paṛh'lĕs he read*; रह्‍लेस् *rah'lĕs thou remainedst*; कर्‍तेन् *kar'tĕn* (if) *they did*; पढ्‍लेन् *paṛh'lĕn they read*; कर्‍तैँ *kar'taĭ̃* (if) *they did*; पढ्‍लैँ *paṛh'laĭ̃ they read*; 5) in the suffix ए ĕ of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के *kahĕ kĕ having said*; 6) in some frequently used words, as और् *aŭr* or औ *aŭ and* (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) ĕ and ŏ must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in पोट्ठा (or पिट्ठा for निट्ठा Vr. 1, 12), पोट्ठुं (for नीडं Vr. 1, 19), सेच्चं (for प्रैत्यं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्जा (for शय्या Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्कं (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोत्ता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), जोव्वणं (for यौवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेल्लोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्थैदोतोरु उच्चारलाघवम्। i. e., after consonants ĕ and ŏ are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels ĕ, ŏ, aĭ, aŭ and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short ĕ, e. g., in ऐक् *ĕk one*, and short ŏ in गोम् *gŏm wheat*, बोल्ले *bŏle he speaks*, etc. Oriyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute ă for ŏ in *writing*; thus B. गम्, बल्ले; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed ĕ and ŏ; S. has still preserved the ĕ in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces ĕ to ĭ, and always ŏ to ŭ (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute ĭ and ŭ for ĕ and ŏ (as to ĕ and ŏ in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 330). The Psh. has both ĕ and ŏ (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like ŏ, e. g., बड *bŏrŏ great*; but it must not be confounded with the real ŏ which is a shortening of ओ ó, while this ŏ is a modification of অ ă; as shown by O., which pronounces ă; e. g., বড় *bără*. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel ă at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct य् or व् before the final অ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्य *yogya worthy*, तत्व *tatva substance*.

Note: The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. बिन्ती *bintí* for बिनन्ती *bin'tí petition*, H. H. दुल्हा *dulhá* for दुलन्हा *dul'há bridegroom*, M. राम्या *rámyá* for रामन्या *rám'yá Rám*, or घोड्या *ghoḍyá* for घोडन्या *ghoḍ'yá of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛí*, ऌ *lṛi*, ॡ *lṛí* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindí certainly, whether E. or W., they are never *pronounced*. In H. H. it is customary to *write* ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in *speaking* the syllable रि *ri* or even इर् *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत् *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अम्रित्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor* *kripá* (क्रिपा) or *kirpá* (किर्पा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindí phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization.* In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compeñsatioñ*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (ँ), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रहनाँ *rah'ĩõ*, लेईँ *leĩ̆*, कोईँ *koĩ̆*, होँठ् *hõṭh*, नींद् *nĩ̆d*, or चललाँ *chalalã*, कुआँर् *kuãr*, कुआँरी *kuãrí*, जाँयँ *jãy̆*, जाँवँ *jãv̆*.

9. *Derivation and affinities.* The anunásika generally (except occasionally before ह् and स्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *mûrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals	Semivowels		Sibilants
	surd or hard		sonant or soft		sonant	sonant or soft		surd
	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	unaspirate	aspirate	unasp.
guttural	क् *k*	ख् *kh*	ग् *g*	घ् *gh*	ङ् *ṅ*	—	ह् *h*	—
palatal	च् *ch*	छ् *chh*	ज् *j*	झ् *jh*	ञ् *ñ*	य् *y*	—	—
cerebral	ट् *ṭ*	ठ् *ṭh*	ड् *ḍ*	ढ् *ḍh*	ण् *ṇ*	ड़् *ṛ*	ढ़ *ṛh*	—
dental	त् *t*	थ् *th*	द् *d*	ध् *dh*	न् *n*	र् *r* or ल् *l*	ह्र *rh* or ल्ह *lh*	स् *s*
labial	प् *p*	फ् *ph*	ब् *b*	भ् *bh*	म् *m*	व् *v*	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*[1]). This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhí[2]). In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts* + *h*, *dz*, *dz* + *h*[3]). It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf.[4]). In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian" (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

ह् is almost universally pronounced and written स् or (generally, before palatal vowels) श्; e. g., M. रीस् *bear*, E. H. रीह्; M. सूरी *knife*, E. H. हूरी; M. माशी *fly*, E. H. माही (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and ह् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. ह्राह् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ह् as श्; e. g., G. शो *who* for S. ह्म (see § 438, 6); B. काशे or काहे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. ह्मी *we are*, P. सन् for N. ह्नन् *they are*.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तयोच्चारणः, which is explained by Bhámaha चवर्गो यथा स्पष्टस् तयोच्चारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*". My MS. of Md. (12th páda, fol. 48b) reads चयोरुपत्रयः स्यात्। यकारागमः। श्चिरं। त्र्यास्र॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चपयोर् उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymáa* (?)"[1]). My MS. is a Nágarí copy of one in Oriyá characters, in which य् and प् and again त् and रि would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्याः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Mds. rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced"; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron." This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49a); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Dravidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymáa* mother (mátá) or illusion *máyá*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरक्टर् *director*, सार्टिफिकेट् *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjugded non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ऱ् and ण् have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ल् which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals[1]). The next was the semivowel ऱ् which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण् became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ऱ्. Cp. vedic मृऱ *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृऱ् or मृळ् with मृद्; नट् with नृत्; नऱ् with नर्द्, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prákrits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drávidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) न्[1]) is cerebralized to ण्, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ड़ a fully cerebral ड़ has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drávidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ङ़ *ṅ*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ़िया *aṅgiyá bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The ञ् *ñ* and ण् *ṇ*, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*ṭheṭh*) forms of E. H.; thus ञाहीँ *ñáhĩ no*, ञगिञा *agiñá fire*, णारसिंघ् *ṇarsiṅgh manlion*, णारैण *ṇáraiṇ Náráyan*, पाणी *páṇi water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न् *n*, as नाहीँ *náhĩ*, नरसिंघ् *narsiṅgh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण् *ṇ*, as कारन् *káran cause* for Skr. कारण *karaṇa*. Hence the Kaithí alphabet has no special signs for ञ् *ñ* and ण् *ṇ*; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न् *n*. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pank mire*, अंत् *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvára*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. anusvára which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals ङ् and ञ् (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ञ), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य् *ny* and ण्य् *ṇy* change to ञ्ञ् *ññ*. Agreeably with this, ञ् occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *ṭheṭh bhásháṣ*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य्); thus E. H. अग्गिञा *fire* for अग्गिनिया, Mg. Pr. अग्गिणिए (see Ls. 244 अग्गिणी), Skr. अग्निक:; जाहीँ *not* for न्याहीँ = ने + आहीँ (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. आगिञा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) आगिना (Skr. आज्ञा). So also in N. थाञि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. थेँ) for Ap. Pr. थाणि or थाणे, Skr. स्थाने; लिञा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिन्ना)[1]. S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पुञ *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुञ्ञं, Skr. पुण्यं; S. थञु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. थञ्ञं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वञे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वञ्ञइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मञे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मञ्ञइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamágadhí which has न्न् *nn*[2] (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्नं; E. H. बनै *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. वन्नइ; E. H. मानै *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मन्नइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal ङ् (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as चङु

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic ञ् after इ; as डराञा *feared* for डराइआ (डराया); थिञा *was* for थिआ; हुपिञा *money* for हुँपिआ; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as हुपिञा *money*, अगिञा *order*, however, I have heard also in *ṭheṭh Panjábí*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has ण्ण् *ṇṇ* for ण्य् *ṇy* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न्न् *nn* for न्य् *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

aṅu body, मङणु *maṅaṇu ask* (E. H. मॉगब्); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केङु *keṅu who*, येङु *jeṅu which*. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ङ् also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ण् and न्, every ण् changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every *medial* न् and optionally every *initial* न् become ण् in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ण् is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in ṭheṭh Hindí. It is, however, now confined more or less to the ṭheṭh or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ण् (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्[1]). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. णारैण् or नारैन *Náráyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. णारायणो or नारायणो, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards म्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जउँणा *Jamna* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels ड़ *r*, ड़्ह *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and ऴ *ṛh*. The ड़ *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); ड़्ह and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as $r + h$ and $l + h$, as बड़्है *barhai grows*, कोल्हू *kolhú*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ण्. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ण् at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाम्रो (not णाम्रो) for Skr. न्याय: This circumstance — unless Vr's silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

sugarmill. The ੜ, pronounced *ṛ* + *h*, as ਬੁੜ੍ਹਿਆ *buṛhiyá old woman*, is the aspirate of ੜ which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr. ੂ *r*. For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental[1]). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral ੜ *ṛ* which is the new letter, but the dental ੂ *r*. The old Skr. ੂ has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by ੜ. To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhí form ੜ for ਤ and ੜ੍ਹ for ਥ, and the Gurmukhí cerebral ਤ for the Skr. cerebral ੂ. The aspirates ੜ੍ਹ *rh* and ਲ੍ਹ *lh* are single sounds in the same sense as ੜ੍ਹ *ṛh*; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with ਢ੍ਹ *ḍh*, precisely as ੂ, ਲ੍ and ੜ with ੜ *ḍ*.

16. *Affinities.* Vedic Skr. has a cerebral ਲ੍ਹ *ḷ* and ਅਲ੍ਹ *ḷh*, which in certain schools take the place of an original medial ੜ *ḍ* and ਢ੍ਹ *ḍh* (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semivowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from ੜ and ਢ੍ਹ arise (cerebral) ਲ੍ਹ and ਅਲ੍ਹ, then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral) ੂ or ੜ and ੜ੍ਹ, then (dental) ਲ੍ and ਲ੍ਹ, finally E. Gd. (dental) ੂ and ੂ੍ਹ. Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial ਲ੍, have in E. H. an ੂ, as O. H. ਫੂ *fruit* for W. H. ਫਲ੍; E. H ਉੂਹੈ *it grows up* for W. H. ਉਲਹੇ. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying ੂ instead of ਲ੍. This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H. ੂ is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than ਲ੍, of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification[2]). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr. ੂ is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral ੜ be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has ਲ੍ for ੂ (H. C. 4, 288), ੂ for ਤ੍ (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and ਧ੍ or ੂ for ਥ੍ (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ੂ for ਲ੍, elides ੂ, and uses only ੂ (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. ਕਲੇਦਿ, in Bhg. ਕਰੇਇ, in E. H. ਕਰੈ *he does*; in H. C. ਯਾਯਾਧ or ਜਾਯਾਹ, in Bhg.

dental ऱ्, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ऱ् into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ऱ् into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental ऱ्; e. g., Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Mg. Pr. लत्ती, E. H. रात्; Skr. नरः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नर्. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेतुरी for Mg. Pr. *लंतुलिआ (with pleonastic लिआ = डिका) = Skr. रंज्, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लडइ, Skr. रटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ड् (= Skr. cerebral ऱ्) into dental ऱ्, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix ड़ा which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. केडो *goat*, E. H. केली or केरी (Skr. छागी, Ap. Pr. छायडिआ), or W. H. नाडो *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी [1]). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) ऱ्, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फऱ्; Skr. कदलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

णाणह्, in E. H. ञानह् *yon know*. It appears, then, that the change of ऱ् to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ऱ् for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ऱ् to E. H. ऱ्, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नऋ *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नर *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्मे (see § 18), E. H. लाम् (W. H. लंबा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ण् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes णा or ना for ला (e. g., अपणा or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ण् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rṇ*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *páścha* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*[1]). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithí alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (𑂮) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (𑂰) and still preserved in the Gurmukhí for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (𑂭) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (𑂲), and improved into the modern Devanágarí (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of ड़ to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gd. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) ड़ is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and ड़, nor have they a cerebral ड़ *ṛ*[2]), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ळ *ḷ*. The same is true of the S. Gd., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ळ to ड़, and rarely its ल् to ड़; hence, probably, its ड़ is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चात्या रेफव्यत्ययेन (18th páda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यता स्याद् रलवर्णयोरेव (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their ड़ is always *ḍ*, not *ṛ*; and their *r* is equivalent to ड़ *ṛ*; whence, e. g., W. H. बढ़ेला *wild hog*, probably written for बर्हेला = बराहेला from Skr. वराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंताड़ or मंताड़ for Skr. मार्जार:.

every respect; it has the dental ऱ् and cerebral ऴ्, the interchange of ल् and ऱ्, and no ऴ्; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange ल् and ऱ्. N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental ऱ् and cerebral ऴ्, and the want of ऴ्; and though they do not interchange ल् and ऱ्, they have the analogous change of ल् to ण् or न्. The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the ऴ्; this is strange; I suspect that its ऴ् is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both ऴ् and ल्, e. g., गोल and गोऴ *ball*; sometimes it has ल्, where the W. Gds. have ऴ्, e. g., G. टऴवुँ, M. टऴणें, but O. टलिबा *to confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral ऱ्; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páṣchá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels य् and व् are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीयै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीअइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइदे); जाय् के *having gone* for जाइ के; जाँयँ *they may go* for जा + एँ; again लेवै *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + अल्; घोड़वा *horse* for घोड़आ; जाँवँ *I may go* for जाअँ, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí, व् is always written for ब्, and य् not uncommonly for ज्. Whenever such apparently organic य् or व् occur initially, they must be pronounced ज् or ब् respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत or संजुत् *sañjut joined*; वात् or बात् *bát word*; वाटै or बाटै *báṭai he is*; संवत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *játrá pilgrimage*, आचार्य *ácháraj preceptor*. The sound of ब् is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly *b* nor *v*; of the two it is nearer to *b*; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *ṭheṭh bhásha*; in the kharí bhásha, it is, as a rule, distinctly *b*. The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic* य् or व् ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नाऐन्

or नाराइन *Nárâyan* (Pr. नारायणे); देओदार *pine* (Pr. देवदार). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देओता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write य and व; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities.* This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial य always changes to ज in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even ज (whether initial or medial) changes to य (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योजनम्, Sr. जोअणं, Mg. योयणं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the य, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semivowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficully appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* य

and व्. The palatal semiconsonant *y* still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb [1]). But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of य् and ञ् on the one side and of व् and ब् on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* य् and व् is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* य् and व् [2]). The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels *y* and *v*; whence it follows, that the organic य् and व् must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants [3]). It is this semiconsonant व्,

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1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of ञ्), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabí says मक्ष *maǰh* "a buffalocow" the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal *y* aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*" (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to *g* (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. क्वचिदयत्वं वा ॥ गअणं गयणं वा ॥ 46. क्वचिद् वत्वं वा। सुहओ सुहवो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic *y* or *v* is inserted, as *gayaṇaṃ* for *gaaṇaṃ* (Skr. *gagaṇam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagaḥ*). Again H. C. 1, 180. अवर्णो यश्रुतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 यश्रुतिः। नयरं ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels *ă* or *á* an euphonic *y* is pronounced; as *nayaraṃ* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Md. 2, 2. has अनादावहिंतो वर्णो पठितव्वो। यकारवहिंति पाठशिक्षा ॥ (MS. fol. 8ᵃ). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic *y* लघुप्रयत्नतरयकार „pronounced with smaller effort"; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic य् the Pr. णयणं *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) य् was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic य्. Again य् and व् are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ए and ओ; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. प् or ब्, but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.[1]). They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. व् for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ब्; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. म्ब् *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म् *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म्व् *mv* with the semicons. व्[2]). Thus Skr. जम्बु°, Pr. जम्बु° or जंबु° (Spt. 192); Skr. निम्ब°, Pr. णिम्ब° or णिंब° (Spt. 252); Skr. अम्बु°, Pr. अम्बु or अंबु (Spt. A. 32); Skr. बिम्बं, Pr. बिम्बं or बिंबं (Spt. 208); also Pr. अम्बं or अंबं (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अम्रं);

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occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the य् and व् thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. जयति of जि + अति is Pr. जेदि, Skr. भवति of भू + अति is Pr. होदि, Skr. तन्वी of तनु + ई is Pr. तणुई, etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants य् and व् are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. णाअणं (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लावण्यं is Pr. लाअण्णं (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels य् and व् are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants य् and व् like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. छाया to Pr. छाहा (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पो वः *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 बो वः *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2 °पवयां प्रायो लोपः। Md. 2, 2 प्रायः °पत्रयवां लोपः (MS. fol. 8ª) „*as a rule v etc. are elided*". These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant ब्; thus H. C. 4, 396 अनादौ स्वरादसंयुक्तानां कखतथपफां गघदधबभाः „*medial single p, ph etc. become b, bh etc.*".

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced ब् *b*, not व् *v*; otherwise the forms ought to be जम्मु, etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant ब *b*, but only to neutral व्; the example लोढओ for Skr. लब्धकः does not prove that it does, as ब् would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बइ् or चुंबइ् (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. ब् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant व्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. ब् in the place of the Skr. conjunct म्ब्, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows म् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct म्म्[1]) and hence the pronunciation म्व् for Skr. म्ब्; thus Skr. ज़म्बुः, Mh.-Sr. ज़म्बू, M. ज़ाँब्, G. ज़ाँबु, but E. H., B., O. ज़ाम्, S. ज़ामु, Mg. *ज़म्मू; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नीँब्, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. *निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बूओ, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीमू, S. निमु or लिमु, Mg. *निम्मूए; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. *लम्मे; Skr. ग्रम्रम्, Mh.-Sr. ग्रम्बं, W. H., P. ग्रम्ब्, M. ग्रम्बा, G. ग्राँबो, but E. H., B., O. ग्राम्, S. ग्रामो (also ग्रम्बु), Mg. *ग्रम्मं; Skr. ताम्रम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. ताँबा, M. ताँबे, G. ताँबुँ, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. *तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. *कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. *म्म् is preserved; Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. *सम्मुज्झइ, E. H. समुझै[2]). *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant व्, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel व् or the consonant ब् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gurmukhí (i. e. Panjábí) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágarí), Bangálí and Oriya have only one, namely व्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व़) or *over* (O. वं) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rávan*,

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1) The Mg. semicons. व् seems to have a tendency to change to म्, e. g., Mg. माहण for वाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु° the assimilation म्म् appears to be common to all Gds.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समकौनी, G. समजुती, M. समजूत्.

कवन् *kavan who*; but वचन् *bachan word*, वन् *ban wood*[1]). On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant ब्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. बुध्यते, Mg. वुज्झइ, E. H. बूझै *he knows*; Skr. शपथम्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह्. The case of य् and ज् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant य्, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers[2]). From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant व् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब्, so the semicons. य् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. य् and cons. ज्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब् *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्व् *mv* and changed to म्म् *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct ञ्ज् *ñj* is in Mg. pronounced *ञ्य् *ñy* and becomes ञ्ञ *ññ*[3]). Once more: as the Bangálí and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. য়) or hook (O. ୟ) *under* the য্ when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágarí, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where ब् (i. e. ब or dot *within* व) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 ज्ञो यः *y takes the place of j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 ज्ञयां यः *y takes the place of j, dy and y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 ञ्यण्यज्ञां ञ्ञः *ññ takes the place of ñj* etc.; as अञ्जली for Skr. अञ्जली, धणञ्जए for Skr. धनञ्जयः, पञ्जले for Skr. प्राञ्जलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिञ्जु *marrow* for Skr. *माञ्ज° (see Tr. XXVII).

of *y* [1]). On the other hand the Gurmukhí and (in this case also) Kaithí have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b* [2]). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. व्, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. य् has been hardened in the modern E. Gḍ. into the full consonant ज्, and the Mg. medial semicons. य् is softened into the semivowel य्, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. जानाति *he knows*, Mg. याणइ, E. H. जानै; Skr. रजनी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रइनि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavatí, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithí has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. य्, but only the double semicons. य्य्, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. य्, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. य् is confirmed

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1) This shows again that the semicons. य् was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhámaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term स्थाने (he says जकारस्य यकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sútras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says षकारसकारयोः स्थाने शकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 र्यकारर्जकारयोः स्थाने य्यो भवति i. e. *yy for rj and ry*. Now in the Bhagavatí *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhámaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *rj* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhám'. time the semicons. य् had already hardened into the full cons. ज्, though it was still written य् (as in modern B. and O.), but the double य्य् was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gḍ., however, it too has hardened to ज्ज्.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithí, too, a dot is placed under य्, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य् *true*; which shows, that formerly य् (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ् *jñ* in Pr. and Gḍ. According to the Pr. Gramm. ज्ञ् changes to ञ्ञ् *ññ* in Mh.-Sr.[1] (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to ञ्ञ् *ññ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न्न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gḍs. show no trace of the form ञ्ञ् *ññ*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *ṇ*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. रण्णी or रन्नी, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *जण्णोविअं or जन्नोविअं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. जनोइ, E. H. जनउ (for जनोउ see § 26. 122), M. जनवे, S. जणायो, W. H. जनेउ; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा or सन्ना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञाप्तिका, Pr. विण्णत्तिआ or विन्नत्तिआ, H. बिनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञाप्तिका, Pr. सण्णत्तिआ or सन्नत्तिआ, H. सनती *instead* (lit. *killing*)[2]). If ज्ञ् was pronounced as a semicons. (य्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न्न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of ज्ञ्, beside that into ञ्ञ् or न्न्. The Skr. base राज्ञ *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राइण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form *राञ्ञिण or *राञ्ञिन or Mg. *राय्यिअ. Here, evidently the conjunct ञ्ञ् has been dissolved into ञ्ञिण or ञ्ञिन, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन. On the same principle the E. H. word सइन् or सैन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. *सञ्ञा or *सञ्ञिणा, Skr. संज्ञा[3]). Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that ज्ञ् of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes ञ्ञ् (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gḍ., which has जान्; they also say that ज्ञ् of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes ञ्ञ् (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gḍ. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. दइवण् (H. C. 2, 83) or *दैवन्न्, Skr. दैवज्ञः (lit. *inspired*); and बीन् or बीना *seeing*, Pr. *विण् or *विन्न्, Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रजनी.

of ज्ञ् being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gḍ. either as ग् *g* (E. and W. Gḍ.) or द् *d* (S. Gḍ.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ज्ञ् be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. य्. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original ज्ञिन becomes गिन or द्दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of गिअ contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. गिआन्, H. ग्यान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. आगिआ, H. आग्या *order* for Skr. आज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. ज्ञग् or ज्ञाग् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form ज्ञग्गं in which the conjunct ग्य् *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gḍ. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वग्गु *omniscient* for *सर्वग्युं (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °ज्ञिन° is changed to ग्न्य *gnya*; and M. has द्न्य *dnya* for °द्दिन°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyán*, in M. *dnyán*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ् *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels य् and व् are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gḍ.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants श् *ṣ* and ष् *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स् *s*, as शिव *siu* (सिउ) *Ṣiva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols श् and ष् are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as खुस् *khús happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithí) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanágarí characters स् *s* and ख् *kh*.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of ष् had been already lost in all Prs.; that of श् in the Mh.-Sr. and that of स् in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have ष्, the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no स्, W. and N. Gd. no श्. S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no श्. In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as *ṣ*; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as *s*. In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both ष् and श् are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal *ṣ*; thus शिव and विष्णु are *ṣiva* and *viṣnu*. — In *writing*, the character ष्, more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the *table*), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of ख् *kh*. Similarly E. Gd. uses श्, and W. and N. Gd. स्, and S. Gd. स् and श् indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three *characters* स, श, ष (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic) ق *q*, خ *kh*, غ *gh* and ح or ه *h* become respectively the pure gutturals क्, ख्, ग् and ह्; as कौल् for قول *agreement*, खाली خالی *only* or *empty*; ग़रीब् غريب *poor*; हाल् حال *state*; हर् هر *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic) ذ ż, ز ž, ض ż, ظ ž become pure palatal ज़्; as काग़ज़् (O. H. कागद्) كاغذ *paper*; ज़ाएती زيادتی *more* (see Bs. II, 54); ज़िमिदार् زمیندار *landholder*; ज़ामिन् ضامن *surety*; ज़ाहिर् ظاهر *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english) *t* and *d* become pure cerebral ट् and ड् respectively; as कलकटर् *collector*, लाड् *lord*.

4) The semidentals ط *t* and (sibilants) ث ṡ, ص *ṡ* and ش *sh* become pure dental त् and स् respectively; as तैयार् طیار *ready*; साबित् ثابت *proved*; साहिब् صاحب *master, sir*; खुस् خوش *happy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ्, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फैदा *phaidá* for فايدة *faidá profit.*

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as मालूम् for معلوم *known*, माफिक् for موافق *like.*

3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने वि, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. ज़सोवंते or ज़सवंते, E. H. ज़सवंत्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*, Mg. दुव्वले, E. H. दूब्रू; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निचिंते, E. H. निचींत्; Skr. निस्ताजयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्थालइ, E. H. निथारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निप्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. अग्गी, E. H. आगि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्खं, E. H. दुख्; Skr. अन्तःकजणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कलणां, E. H. अंतकर्न्; Skr. निष्कालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालइ, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निश्वासः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्सासे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen, from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अंतःकरण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes [1]) it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *dukhkh*, and *antakaran* not *antahkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as करब: *karaba* (*you will do*); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the *ă*, which could not be unless the *ă* were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The anusvára should be carefully distinguished from the *anunásika* (◌̃). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while tke latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants[1]), are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant[1]), is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the anuswára, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them anunásika or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. anusvára, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except ऋ *r*, ष् *ṣ* and ह् *h*[2]); but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, ङ् *ṅ*, ञ् *ñ*, ण् *ṇ*, न् *n*, म् *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. य्, ल्, व् and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunásika*) is indicated by the sign (◌̃), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus ल्ँ *l̃*, य्ँ *ỹ*, व्ँ *ṽ*, ऋँ *r̃*, ईँ *ī̃*, ऊँ *ũ*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or anusvára) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also श् *ś* and ष् *sh*; and in Gḍ. also ङ *ṛ*.

thus अं *ám* is the vowel *á succeeded* by a nasal tone, while अँ *á̐* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal म् *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before स् *s* (ण्, ष्) and ह् *h must* be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it *must* be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ण् or न् or म् (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before स् (Mg. ण्) *must* be the anusvára; b) before ह् and any cons. proper it *may* be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ह् changes to ध् (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ण्, न् and म् remain, as a rule, unchanged[1]); but occasionally म् before म् may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become व् with or without anunásika or be elided[2]) (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before स्, ह्, and any cons. proper it *may* be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ह् becomes ध्; c) before semivowels

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1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. अम्लिका *tamarind*, Pr. अमलिआ, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घराइं or घराइँ (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरे.

and vowels it is often changed to anunásika, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b*) Skr. हंसः *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हाँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ्हे (or सिंघे), E. H. सीँह् or सोँघ् or सिङ्ह् (or सिंघ् § 13); Skr. पङ्कः *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजणां or अञ्जणां, E. H. अँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टकः *thorn*, Mg. कंटए or कण्टए, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्रः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँदू or चन्दू; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंपइ or कम्पइ, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c*) Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्णं or पुन्नं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्नइ, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मइ, E. H. गमै; Skr. जम्बुलः *roseapple*, Mg. जम्बुले or *जम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. जामुन्; Skr. अम्रम् *mango*, Mg. अम्बं or *अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. आम्; Skr. जन्यते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जामै or जमै; Skr. भ्रमरकः *bee*, Ap. भवँरउ, E. H. भौँरा; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल्; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले. (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुअँर् or कुवर्; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थाणे or (Ap.) थाणि, E. H. थेँ; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पणतीसा or पणातीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *α*) occasionally the anusvára is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β*) occasionally an anusvára is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ*) the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be anusvára (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ*) a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α* and *β*) the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting anunásika for anusvára; *γ*) in this case also anunásika is substituted for anusvára; *δ*) either ह् is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *α*) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty,* Pr. वीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंहः *lion,* Pr. सीहो or सिंहो, E. H. सीह् or सीँह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh,* Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or माँस् or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति *he collects,* Pr. संहरइ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before,* Pr. संमुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोँहीँ; Skr. पठन् *reading,* Mg. पढंते, E. H. पढ्न्; Skr. संस्थः *together with,* Mg. संये or सत्थे, E. H. साथ्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वंकं, E. H. बाँक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear,* Pr. अंसुअं, E. H. आँसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true,* Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep,* Pr. णिद्दा, E. H. नींदू, etc. (see § 149); ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्तिः *row,* Pr. पंती, E. H. पाँति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign,* Pr. चिण्हं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणाः *Bráhman,* Mg. बम्हणे, E. H. बामन् or बमहन्; Skr. कृष्णाः *krishna,* Mg. कण्हे, E. H. कान् or कनह् (as in कानपुर् *Cawnpúr* and कनहैया लाल् *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. युष्माकः, Mg. कोह्ले, E. H. कोहर्; Skr. युष्म°, Pr. तुम्ह°, E. H. तोहरा *your. Secondly*; as regards the nasal म् *at the end of a word*: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it *may* become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it *must* become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. Ṣ. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं त्रोटयति or फलन्त्रोटयति *he breaks fruit,* Pr. फलं तोडेइ, E. H. फर् तोड़ै; Skr. फलं लभते or फललँभते *he takes fruit,* Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फर् ले; Skr. फलमवहरति *he gathers fruit,* Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फर् (अे)हरै); Skr. दधि *curds,* Pr. दहिं or दहिँ or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहीँ, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. *Firstly*; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether[1]). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before स् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both स् and ह्. *Secondly*, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मैं *I* for मैँ, होंठ् *lip* for होँठ्, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing[2]), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the *dot* is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद् *chãd* or चंद् *chand*, but not चांद्. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

2. *CHAPTER.* EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ *ă*, that अ *ă* becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोरन्ते। पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोरनपभ्रंशे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (··), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◡).

quiescent *ă* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *viráma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bágh tiger* (not *bágha*); बात् *bát word*; चलत् *chalat walking*; होइब् *hoïb we shall be.*

Exception. It is always pronounced in the 2nd pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब *hŏïba you shall be* (not *hoïb*), बाट *báṭa you are* (not *báṭ*).

25. An antepenultimate आ *á* is always made अ *ă* which with a following इ *ĭ* or उ *ŭ* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and औ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *í*, ऊ *ú*, ए *e*, ओ *ŏ* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. *euphonic* य् and व्). Thus रम्वा *ram'vá* long form of राम् *rám Ráma*; गिध्वा *gidh'vá* of गीध् *gidh vulture*; घोर्‌वा *ghor'vá* of घोरा *ghorá horse*; बेट्वा *beṭ'vá* of बेटा *beṭá son*; मिट्का *miṭ'ká* of मीटा *miṭá sweet*; नउवा *naŭvá* or नौआ *nauá* of नाउ *náu barber*; भइया *bhaïyá* or भैया *bhaiyá* of भाई *bhái brother*; बतिया *batiyá* of बात् *bát word*; सुत्ल्लोँ *suṭ'lõ* 1st pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sútab to sleep*; खइबोँ *khaïbõ* or खैबोँ *khaibõ* 1st pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *kháïb to eat*; करउतोँ *karaŭtõ* or करौतोँ *karautõ* 1st pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karáïb to cause to do* (for कराव्तोँ *karáv'tõ*, see § 34); but पीयतोँ (if) *I drank*; छूअलोँ or छूवलोँ *I touched* (see § 65).

Exception. The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मार्‌ल्लोँ *már'lõ I killed* of मार्‌ब्, caus. of मर्‌ब् *to die.*

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for *ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such.*

26. The short ऐ *ĕ* and ऐँ *aĭ* are sometimes reduced to इ *ĭ*, and short ओ *ŏ* and औँ *aŭ* to उ *ŭ*; or, more often, all four to अ *ă*. Thus: बेटिया *bĕṭiyá* or बिटिया *biṭiyá daughter*; कहे *kahĕ* or कहि *kahi having said*; गैलेन् *gailĕn* or गैलन् *gailan they went*; गैलँ *gailaĭ̃* or गैलँ *gailã they went*; लोटिया *lŏṭiyá* or लुटिया *luṭiyá brass vessel*; पर्‌ोसिया *parŏsiyá* or पर्‌सिया *parasiyá neighbouring*; जनोउ *janŏu* or जनउ *janaŭ* *brahmanical thread*; औँ *aŭ* or अ *a and*; औँर् *aŭr* or अर् *ar and*; मुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस् or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., वेअणा or विअणा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सणिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. सनीछ्रू (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्तुत्तरसयं *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अनुनं or अन्नन्नं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. शौण्डः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. *of what sort,* see § 438, 2).

27. A final anunásika is often omitted; thus तूँ *tṹ* or तू *tú you*; तैँ *taĩ* or तै *tai thou*; मैँ *maĩ* or मै *mai I*; मेँ *mẽ* or मे *me in*; नाँहीँ *nā̃hĩ́* or नाँही *nā̃hí not*; जानीँ *jānĩ́* or जानी *jáni we know,* etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, य् *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *í*; and optionally व् *v*, after ऊ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither य् nor व् can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *ĭ* or ई *í*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *aï* may and ईइ *íï* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *í* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाये *to go*; पी + अब् = पीयब् *piyab to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीयै *piyai he drinks*; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूअत् *chúat dripping* from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअत् *roät weeping* from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोए *roai he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *leai ke to take* from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *pílá we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúi it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilá we drip*; बोई *boi he will sow*, बोईला *bóilá we sow*; देई *deí he will give*, देईला *deílá we give*; again खइबै *khaïbai* or खैबै *khaibai we shall eat* from खा + इबै; पीबै *pibai we shall drink* from पी + इबै; खाइब् *kháïb we shall eat* from खा + इब्; पीइत् *píit* (if) *we drank* from पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइब् *chúib we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइब् *boib we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took* from ले + इत्.

Exception 1. The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ई; thus पी + ई = पीई *píi* or पी *pi he will drink*; जी + ई = जी *ji* or जीई *jíi he will live.*

Exception 2. The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. अब्बो॑ etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. अतो॑ etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb हो *to become* to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus खा + अब्बो॑ = खाब्बो॑ *khábõ I shall eat*; दे + अब्बो॑ = देब्बो॑ *debõ I shall give*; हो + अब्बो॑ = होब्बो॑ *hobõ I shall be*; खा + अत् = खात् *khát eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; हो + अत् = होत् *hot being.*

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. ऱ् *r* is generally substituted for ड़् *r*; thus E. H. तोऱै *he breaks* for W. H. तोड़े; E. H. जोऱै *he joins* for W. H. जोड़े; E. H. बाऱी *garden* for W. H. बाड़ी; E. H. जोऱू *wife* for W. H. जोड़ू; E. H. नाऱी *artery* for W. H. नाड़ी, etc. Sometimes also ह्र् *rh* for ड़् *rh*; as E. H. बाह्रै *bárhai he grows* for बाढ़े (W. H. बढ़े); E. H. गाह्रै *gárhai he beats into form* for W. H. गाढ़े.

30. ऱ् *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल् *l*; thus E. H. फऱ् *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गाऱी *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चऱै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. उठै *he throws* for W. H. उाले; E. H. कऱिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग् for लोग् *people*, etc.

Exception. The ल् of the suff. अल of the past tense *never* changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयऱ्; पढ़लो॑ *I read*, not पढ़ऱो॑.

31. ल् *l* and न् *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल् for न् in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न् for ल् in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगवट्टे) [1]).

32. ह् *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus जेह् कै or जे कै *of whom*; ओह् कै or ओ कै *of that*; ऐलह् or ऐल *aila you came*; करतह् or करत *karata* (if) *you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as तहाँ or तहाँ *there*, काँ or कहाँ *where*, जहाँ or जहाँ *wheresoever*, मे or मे॑ or माही॑ *within*; के or (O. H.) काही॑ *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Maráthá*; सगा *full brother* for *सगहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for *दिवहा (see § 134, note).

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1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original ड् of लिंग° is preserved in the ए of B. नेंगुटि.

33. A medial व् *v*, followed by इ or ई, is always elided; and further इ (but not ई) combines with a preceding आ *â* (or अ *ă* by § 25) to ए *ai*; thus पाव् + इब्बो॑ (= प + इब्बो॑) = पैब्बो॑ *I shall find*; आव् + इबे = ऐबे *thou will come*; खियाव् + इबह् = खियैबह् *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ई = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ई॑ = आई॑ *we come*; खियाव् + ईला = खियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial य् *y* or व् *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to इ *i* and उ *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding अ *ă* (or originally आ *á* by § 25) to ए *ai* or ओ *au*. Thus गयल् + ऐस् (= गयल्लेस् *gay'lĕs*) = गइलेस् *gaïlĕs* or गैलेस् *gailĕs thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यूँ (= पियय्ल्यूँ *piyay'lyû*) = पियइल्यूँ *piyaïlyû* or पियैल्यूँ *piyailyû I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो॑ (= कराव्बन्तो॑ *karav'tõ*) = कराउतो॑ *karaütõ* or कराँतो॑ *karautõ* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अलेस् (= चराव्लेस् *charav'lĕs*) = चराउलेस् *charaülĕs* or चराँलेस् *charaulĕs he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities.* There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for *कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); ओर for *अउर for *अवर = Skr. अदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); ओसरइ for *अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. वृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as जेदि = *जइदि = Skr. जयति; होदि = *हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. क्ष् *ksh* is always pronounced and written क्ख् *chh*; thus छोटा *chhoṭá small* (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छत्री *chhat'rí a chhatrí* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); छमा *chhamá forgiveness* (Skr. क्षमा *kshamá*).

37. ज्ञ् *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written ग्य् *gy*; as ग्यान् *gyán knowledge* (Skr. ज्ञान *jñana*); आग्या *ágyá command* (Skr. आज्ञा *ájñá*).

38. ण्ह् *ṇh* is always pronounced and generally written न्घ् *ngh* (or ङ्घ *ngh*); as संघ् *saingh collection* (Skr. संहः *saṃhaḥ*); संघात् *saingháṭ collection* (Skr. संहातः *saṃhataḥ*); सिंघ् *siingh lion* (Skr. सिंहः); सिंघासन *siinghásan thron* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. ंस् *ms* is always pronounced and written ंस् *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as बंस् (or बन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vaṃśaḥ*); बंसीधर् (or बन्सीधर्) *bansidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vaṃśidharaḥ*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsá slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *hiṃsá*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *haṃsaḥ*), etc. (see § 159).

Note: It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of न्स and ंह्; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

2) IN DERIVATION [1]).

a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvára* is dropped, and a preceding अ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुतर् *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कबि *poët* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. परगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. बन् *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 क्षेत्तं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. बारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. आ or अ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नीँद् *sleep*, Ap. निद्दू (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. णिद्दा (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह् *arm* (also बाँह्), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्ता (fem.); E. H. राय् *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राआ (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दीठ् or दीठि *sight*, Ap. दिट्ठि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिट्ठी

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gḍ. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. वहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. वहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. अग्गी (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. आँख् or आँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्खि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्खी (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहप्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. ऊ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तरु or तरु *tree*, Ap. तरु (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तरु (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरुः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पर्शुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोहू or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्तवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ĕ or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मग्गि or मग्गे (Mchh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. करत् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेंति or कलेंते (Mchh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदि or लक्खिदे (Mchh. 112, 6), Skr. रक्षितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लग्गि or लग्गे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahĕ having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नरु (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नरु (H. C. 4, 362) or णरु (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or णरो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कमु (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मगु *road*, Ap. मग्गु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मग्गो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. करत्, Br. करतु *doing*, Ap. करंतु,

करंतो or करेंतो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and 12, 20 (fol. 49ª) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्याताम्। i., masc. nouns in *ă* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ĕ (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा *horse*, Mg. घोडए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला *good*, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भद्रकः; E. H. घरा *pitcher*, Mg. घडए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities.* The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. घोडौ, भल्लौ, घडौ; Mw., G., S., N. घोडो, भल्लो, घडो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. घोडा, भला, घडा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ; again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भल्लौ *good*; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भल्लो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ए (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तले *talai bottom*,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलओ, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिआ *applied*, P. लगिआ, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लग्गिअइ or लग्गिदए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. *लगितंकः), Ap. लग्गिअउ, Br. लग्यौ, Sr. लग्गिअओ, S. लगिओ or लग्यो. The Psh. ऐ *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. औ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अइ *aï* and Ap. (Sr.) अउ *aŭ* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. अए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of अ. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. ओ. There are, however, some traces of the term. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सिआर). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Md. (12, 21. 22. fol 49[a]) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ. (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*[1]). That is, the nom.

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1) Vr. 11, 17 शृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः॥ and Md. 12, 21 एदोतौ सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतौ स्यातां। हे वअंसे। हे वअंसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदालआ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ă* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voaṃse*, *he voaṃso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Md. 12, 22 आदाक्षेपे। पुंसि सम्बुद्धौ अकारः आ स्यादाक्षेपे। अले ले त्वेलआ। चकारात्। त्वेलए। त्वेलओ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *ă*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *á*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ढोल्ला मइँ तुहुँ वारिआ मा कर दीहा माणु; this is Bs. ढोला मैं तूँ के बारा मत् कर दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिट्टीए मइँ भणिअ तुहुँ मा कर वंकी दिट्ठि, = Bs. बेटी मैं भनि तूँ के मत् कर बाँकी दीठ् i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42 [1]). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gḍ. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ जु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महारउ हल्लि सहिए निच्छइं रूसेइ जासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gḍ., see Introd.) भला हुआ जु मारा बहिन् मोरा काँत्, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँत् मेरौ सहेली निहचै रूसे जासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry [2]).

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. तेली *oilman*, Mg. तेल्लिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली *gardener*, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. H. भौनाई) *sister's husband*, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नाती *grandchild*, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Pr. *भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भ्रातृकः; again E. H. बिछू *scorpion*, Mg. विंछुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू *a kind of sweetmeat*, Mg. लड्डुए, Skr. लड्डुकः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat* (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहुँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधुमः.

50. *Affinities.* These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gḍs.; but in W. and N. Gḍ. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिछू, Skr. विंछुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लड्डुओ; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाऊ *brother*, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gḍ., भला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा काँत्।.

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson,* Pr. नत्तुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gḍ. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. *तेल्लिइ, *तेल्लीइ, Gḍ. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, *तेलीउ, Gḍ. तेली; or Mg. लट्ठुए, Ap. *लट्ठुइ, *लट्ठूइ, Gḍ. लट्ठू, Sr. लट्ठुओ, Ap. लट्ठुउ, *लट्ठूउ, Gḍ. लट्ठू (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वण्णू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for *सव्वण्णुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञकः); and other words in ण्णू.

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare,* Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club,* Pr. लट्ठिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउसी *mother's sister,* Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother,* Pr. *माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife,* Pr. पुत्तवहुआ (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand,* Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities.* Here all Gḍs. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माऊ *mother,* Pr. माउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or *घोडीअ, Gḍ. घोडी; Pr. बालुआ, Ap. वालुअ or *वालूअ, Gḍ. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अअं, इअं and उअं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold,* Pr. सोवण्णअं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवण्णअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper,* Mg. *तम्मअं (see § 18) or तम्बअं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron,* Pr. लोहअं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter,* Pr. घिअं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water,* Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds,* Pr. दहिअं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. अँसू *tear,* Pr. अंसुअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. जू *yoke,* Pr. जुअं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू *potato,* Pr. आलुअं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. ताआ, P. ताँबा. M. has एँ; as ताँबेँ. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अअं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अअं or with the favorite euph. य्, अयं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. एँ. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as ताँबुँ or ताँबु; in Mw. ओँ or ओ, as ताँबोँ or ताँबो; in Br. ऐँ or ओ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अउं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to ऐँ or अँ, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलु *water* for n. जलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अउं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and ऊ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणीँ *water,* अँसूँ *tear*) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ *becomes* इ *or* ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंजरा *cage,* A. Mg. पंजलअं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंजरकम् (also पिंजरकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. किरकिर *splashing,* Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory,* A. Mg.

सुमलणं (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्मरणम्; E. H. पिचोतर्‌सै *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुत्तलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोत्तरशतम्; E. H. चिर्‌ई *sparrow*, Pr. चउड्‌आ (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. खयावइ, Skr. खादयति (*खदापयति); E. H. छिन् *moment*, Pr. छणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणः; E. H. फिटन्‌करी *alum*, Mg. *फट्टिक्कालिआ (or *फिट्टिक्कालिआ cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. स्फटिकाटिका; E. H. निनानब्बे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवुइं, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* for O. छयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. छिहत्तर् *seventy six*, Mg. छहत्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षटसप्ततिः; E. H. छिलोतर्‌सै *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. छलुत्तलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुत्तरशतम; E. H. लिह्‌ल् *taken*, Mg. *लहिदे [1]), Skr. लब्धः (*लभितः); E. H. दिह्‌ल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेस्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअहिं, Pr. *लहिअंति, Skr. लब्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for *कएस्, Ap. *करिअसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि [2]); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसी *flax*, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने *he counts*, Pr. गणइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणयति; W. H. छिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिछलौ or पछिलौ, Ap. Pr. पच्छिल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, छमा and पाछिल् or पछिला.

56. अ *becomes* उ *or* ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूछ् (also मोँछ्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or *मंछू? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. खुतली *itch*, Ap. Pr. *खज्जुडिअ (Skr. खर्जूः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, सगुन्.

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1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिऊण = Skr. *लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा; and P. past part. लइआ.

2) Regarding the forms लिह्‌ल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. अ *becomes* ए, ऐ, अे or ए, ऐ, अे; rarely; E. H. मेह्र् (or मेहरी or मेहारू) *woman,* Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवाड् (or केवाड़ा) *door,* Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोँच् *beak,* Pr. *चंचू, Skr. चञ्चुः; E. H. मोँछ् *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. सेँध् *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. इ *becomes* अ; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much,* Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much,* Mg. तेत्तिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever,* Mg. जेत्तिलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केत्तिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् *waistcloth,* Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth,* Mg. धलित्तिआ, Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom,* A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै *he examines,* Mg. पलिक्खइ, Skr. परीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् *suffix of past part.,* Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read,* Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अब् or °इब् *suffix of infinit.,* Ap. इवुं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पढब् or पढिब् *to read,* Ap. पढिवुं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

Note: Also W. H. गहर् *deep,* Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरम्; W. H. बहर् *dumb,* Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् *trouble,* Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy,* Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् *rain, year,* Pr. वरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् *touch,* Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर्, बहिर्, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form एत्तिलं or (in some MSS.) एत्तिल्लं is probably a curtailment of एत्तिअलं, composed of एत्तिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or ल्ल), and curtailed just as Ap. इवु from Mh.-Sr. इअवु, e. g., Ap. पढिवुं for Sr. पढिअवुं.

59. इ *or* ई *becomes* उ *or* ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर् or पहरी or पहरा *watchman,* Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूँदू *drop,* Pr. विंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

Note: Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी *sojourner.*

60. उ *becomes* अ; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own,* Pr. अप्पुल्लं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. आपणो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडुगणे (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडुगणः; E. H. कुटको *a kind of medicine*, Pr. *कटुकिआ, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. ज्ञथा *troop*, Pr. *जुत्थअं, Skr. यूथकम्; E. H. सामहूँ or समहूँ *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुहहु, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. साम्हने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. *कुपुत्ते, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूँद् or बुंदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुए, Skr. विन्दुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ, Skr. अङ्गुलिका; W. H. बिज़ली, Pr. विज्जुलिआ (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विद्युत्; W. H. कूकर् *dog*, Pr. कुक्कुरो, Skr. कुक्कुरः; W. H. ज़ाँबन् *roseappletree*, Pr. जंबुलो, Skr. जम्बुलः; W. H. समझे *he understands*, Pr. संवुज्झइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिजुरी, कुक्कुर्, ज़ामुन्, समुझै, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पणयं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ *and* ऊ *become respectively* इ *and* ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. बाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुंदो (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विन्दुः.

62. उ *becomes* ए; very rarely; as फेफरा *lungs*, Skr. फुप्फुसः.

63. ऋ *becomes* इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husbandman*, A. Mg. *किसाणो, Skr. कृषाणः; E. H. गीध् *vulture*, Mg. गिडे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्रः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइआ (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भाइए, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. *भत्तिज्जए, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives घिडो and Bh. माइय°; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिओ for कृषितः as an analogy for किसाणो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिओ and नत्तुओ for नप्तृकः as an analogy for भाइओ and भाउओ (H. C.

1, 131) = भ्रातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भत्तिओ = भ्रातृजः.

64. ऋ *becomes* ए; very rarely; as गेहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो; Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. *Short vowels become long*; very rarely; E. H. ढीला *loose*, A. Mg. सिढिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. शिथिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर *town*, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर for Skr. मुसलम; especially in the verbal roots पी *drink*, सी *sew*, चू *leak*, छू *touch*, मू *die*, ब्वो *sow*, नौ *bow*, भौ *roam*; e. g., E. H. पीयै, Pr. पिअइ, Skr. पिबति; E. H. चूऐ, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीणा *she-elephant* for Pr. हत्थिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, ऊ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी *mare* for घोरीअ = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. *Long vowels become short*; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार *watering place*, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. *पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इव्वं for इअव्वं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की *watermill*, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फुलवारी *flowergarden* (for फूलवारी), Pr. *फुल्लवाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लवाटिका; E. H. अधपका *half-ripe* (for आधपका), Mg. अठपक्कए, Skr. अर्धपक्वकः; E. H. नदीया *name of a town in Bengal* (for नादीया), Mg. नअद्दीपए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी *honey-bee* (for मौमाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिआ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया *lamp* (also दीया and दीवा), Mg. दीपए (or *दिपए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिविअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् *stone*, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् *hades*, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरका *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा *weak* from दूबर्, Mg. दुव्वलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् *all* for *साब्, Mg. सव्वे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. *Vowels are nasalized*; often optionally before ह् and स्; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह् or मुह् *mouth, face*, Mg. मुहं (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेँह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोँह or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. शपथः; E. H. छाँह् *shade*, Pr. छाही (H. C. 1, 249) or छाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. छाया; E. H. बाँह् or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माँहै or माँही or माही *within*, Ap. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खाँसी or खासी *cough*, Pr. खासिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हाँसी or हासी *laughter*, Pr. हासिआ (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घाँस् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाँव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पाअ, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूआँ or कूआ or कूवाँ or कूवा *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जाँयूँ or जाँइँ *they go* (for जाँहिँ), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जंति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. जिवँ or जेवँ *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. ज्यूँ; Ap. तिवँ or तेवँ *thus*, E. H. त्यूँ.

β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइसन् *of what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् *he went*, but M. गेला, Mg. *गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *eaten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. घरिहा or घरिया *inferior*; E. H. छूहै or छूवै or छूऐ *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचअणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार् *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अणिअअडो (see § 321); E. H. अहा *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. अअए, Skr. *अकक: (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आवट् *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अअवट्टी (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, छिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prákrit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. Ṣ. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words फलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, छाहा, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकष, चिकुर, छाया) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptaṣataka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to य *ya*, and of ओ or उ to व *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or आ with इ to ऐ; अ or आ with उ to औ; ई with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to औ or ओ or ऊ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ए to ए; ओ with अ to ओ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. Expansion-sandhi is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, आव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and उव् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नौ-अस् =

नावः; धी-अस् = धियः; लू-अस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to व in पवट्ठो or पओट्ठो or पउट्ठो = Skr. प्रकोष्ट (Vr. 1, 40); आवज्जं for *आओज्जं or आउज्जं = Skr. आतोद्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or ऊ to व in सोअमलं for *सोवमलं for *सोउमलं = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्लं for *दुवल्लं or दुऊलं = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for *उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उऊहलो = Skr. उदूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for *सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to य. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अस् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guṇa* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as *अग्नयः = अग्नेः; *मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्लं for *वयइल्ल for विअइल्लं = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कसेरो for *कसयारो for कसिआरो = Skr. कर्षिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एणिहं for *अयसिं for इआणिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for *अयत्तिअं for *इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयतिकम्; केत्तिअं for *कयत्तिअं for *किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियतिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for *अयदूहं for *इअदूहं = Skr. *इयादृग्रम् (i. e. *इयत् + दृग्र or ईदृग्र; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for *कयदूहं for *किअदूहं = Skr. *कियादृग्रम् (or कीदृग्र) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for *अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for *पवरो for *पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोप्फलं for *पवप्फलं for *पूअप्फलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for *सवणारो for *सुअणारो for सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइच्चो = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वैरम् for स्वईरम्, प्रौढः for प्रऊढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ *with* अ or आ *becomes* आ; as E. H. इहाँ *here*,

Ap. Pr. एहहं, Skr. ईदृशे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार् *yours* (W. H. तुम्हारो), Ap. Mg. *तुम्हअलिए or *तुम्हकलिए or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् *eating*, Mg. खाअते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सड़ाँध् (fem.) *bad odour*, Pr. *सडिअगंधी, Skr. *ग्राहितगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् *name of a caste*, Mg. *लाअउत्ते, Skr. ग्राहपूतः; E. H. लोहार् *blacksmith*, Mg. लोहआले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार् *leather-worker, shoemaker*, Mg. चम्मआले, Skr. चर्मकारः; E. H. परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Mg. पडिवआ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

Exception. Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्वा *Ráma* for Mg. लामआह, Skr. ग्रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन् or रयन् *night*, Mg. लअणी, Skr. ग्रतनी.

74. इ *or* ई *with* इ *or* ई *becomes* ई; as E. H. पी or पीई *he will drink*, Pr. पिइहिइ, Skr. पास्यति (*पिबिष्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. *पिइहइ; E. H. पीबो *I shall drink*, Ap. Pr. पिइब्बउं, Pr. पिइअव्वम्हि, Skr. पातव्य° (*पिबितव्य°), see § 309.

75. उ *or* ऊ *with* उ *or* ऊ *becomes* ऊ; as E. H. दूना *twofold*, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणाकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345) = *अम्हअरिओ or *अम्हकरिओ, Mh. अम्हक्केरो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. *अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमार्, W. H. हमारो (Br.) or म्हारो (Mw.) *our*; Pr. खाइ or खाअइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाए *he eats*; Pr. राउलं or राअउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउर्, W. H. राउल् *a title of honor*; Pr. भाणं or भाअणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) *vessel*; Pr. सोणार° (Spt. 194) for सुवण्णआर°, Skr. सुवर्णाकार°, E. H. सोनार् *goldsmith*; Pr. कुम्भारो or कुम्भआरो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोँहार्, W. H. कुम्हार् *potter*; Pr. पावालिआ for पआवालिआ (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका *guardian of a well*; again ऊआसो for *उउआसो for उववासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) *fasting*, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ *with* इ *becomes* ऐ, *if antepenultimate, but* ऐ *or* अय *aya*

or अय् *ay, if penultimate, optionally*; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् *gone*, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयौ, P. गइआ, Ap. Pr. *गमिअउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् *been*, Mg. *भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइआ, Ap. Pr. भविअउ or हविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै *having done* for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिअ (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठै or पैठै *he enters*, Pr. पइट्ठइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. *प्रविष्टति (see § 352); E. H. खइलों or खैलों *I ate*, Mg. खाइद्ऽम्हि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलों or गैलों *I went*, Mg. गमिद्ऽम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *such*, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ले (see § 111), A. Mg. तारिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

Exception. The termin. ऐ and ऐं of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are *always* thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै *he walks* (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करैं *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै *of* (lit. *done by*) = O. H. करि, Ap. *करिउ or *करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला *good*, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लहे, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाछैं or पाछैं or पाछें or पाछे *after*, G. पाछी, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे *before*, Ap. Pr. अग्गइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. माँहैं or माँहों (cf. § 67) *within*, S. मंझे, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं or मज्झहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहों *near, by side of*, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे *with, for, till*, M. लागीं, Ap. लग्गहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ *with* उ *becomes* औ, *if antepenultimate, but* औ *or* अव *ava or* अव् *av, if penultimate, optionally*; thus E. H. चौथ् or चवथ् or चउथ् *fourth*, Mg. चउत्थे (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौथा or चउथा *fourth*, Mg. चउत्थए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. औध् or अवध् *the province of Oudh*, also अजुधा (W. H. अजुधा *semitats.*), Mg. *अयुडा or *अजुडा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा *a honorific title, you* (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. गात्रकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलउता (or अक° or °टा) *only-born son*, Mg. एक्कलुउत्तए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °ऋ् (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. जेठौत् or जेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother,* Mg. जेठ्ठउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

Exception. The termin. ओँ or ओ॑ of the 1st pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौँ or करो॑ *I do,* Ap. करउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385); Pr. करमि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes ऊ; as E. H. पाछू *behind,* Ap. Pr. पच्छहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus देव्वं and दइव्वं *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैब्; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for *कइहो or *कादिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for *कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदलम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोणं for *लउणं or लवणं *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोव्वारो or चउव्वारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वारः, but E. H. चौबारू; Pr. चोत्थो or चउत्थो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौथ्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for *अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and औ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौथा, N. (also Br.) चौथो *fourth,* but G., S., Mw. चोथो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् *fourteen,* but Mw., G. चोद् (or चौद्), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone,* but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done,* but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been,* but M. झाला (for *हैला, *ह्माला); E. H. खैलोँ *I ate,* M. खालोँ; E. H. ऐलोँ *I came,* M. आलोँ; E. H. तैसन् *such,* M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ईँ is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरीँ *in a house,* Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासीँ *by the side of,* Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पार्श्वे; M. आठी॑ *for* (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. अट्ठहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्त्वे; M. ठाई॑ *in* (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ *with* ई *or* ऊ *becomes* ऐ *or* अय् *and* औ *or* अव् *respectively; optionally*; as E. H. कनहई् or कनहै or कंनहय् *kanhai* (krishṇa); E. H. घउऊ or घउौ or घउव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह्) and घउा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ *with* इ *or* ई *and with* उ *or* ऊ *remains in hiatus*; thus E. H. खाइब् *we shall eat*, Ap. खाइव्वा (scl. ऽम्ह), Pr. खाइअव्वाऽम्हो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई *he will eat*, Pr. खाहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिष्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. *खाहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइआ (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. आई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. राउर् *you*, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलः; E. H. नाउ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or णहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

Exception. The suff. उ of the 2nd pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. जो *go thou*, Ap. जाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खो *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद्. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाँयँ् or जाँइँ *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. यान्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाओ, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राज्ञः); E. H. खावँ् *I eat*, Ap. खाउँ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाअमि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. रावर् or राउर् *you* (see above).

83. इ *with* अ *becomes* ए; as E. H. डेढ् or देढ् *one and a half*, for *दिअड्ढ, Mg. दिवड्ढ (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियर् or नेर् *near*, Mg. निअडं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*

done, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो॑, O. H. चलेउँ, Ap. *चलिअउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिअम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

Exception. The nominal termin. इअ contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी *water,* Pr. पाणिअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ *with* अ *becomes* ओ; as E. H. सोँधा *sweet scent,* Mg. सुअंधए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

Exception. The nominal termin. उअ contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आँसू *tear,* Pr. अंसुअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ *he takes* for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. ओझाए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) *magician* for *उअझाए or उवझाए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओझा; Mg. होंति for *हुअंते or हुवंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ *or* उ *with* अ *become* इया *and* उवा; *optionally*; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिअा *heart,* Pr. हिअअं, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह् *marriage.* Mg. विआहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् *thirst,* Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल् or (rarely) पुवाल् *straw,* Pr. *पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोरिया or (rarely) घोरिआ *mare*; जोहआ or (less usually) जोहवा *wife,* see §§ 195. 199.

Exception. In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and ऊ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ *with* उ *or* ऊ *becomes* इयु *and* इयू; *optionally*; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु *Śiva,* Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिऊ or पियू *sweetheart,* Ap. पिअउ, Pr. पिअओ, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ *with* इ *or* ई *remains in hiatus*; as E. H. सुइया *needle,* Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई *parrot,* Pr. सुइआ, Skr. शुकिका.

89. इ *or* उ *with* ए *or* ओ; see § 98.

90. ई *or* ऊ *with* अ; see § 97.

91. ई *with any other vowel inserts* य्; as E. H. धीया *daughter,*

Pr. धीआ (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सीआ *Sítá*, Pr. सीआ, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिव, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिअइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबति; E. H. पीयों or पीयौं *I drink*, Ap. पिअउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिअमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. ऊ *with* अ, इ *and* ई *remains in hiatus*; as E. H. धूआँ *smoke*, Ap. धूवँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमओ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूइहैं *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहंति, Skr. श्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई *earth*, Ap. भूविँआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका.

93. ऊ *with* ए, ऐ, ओ *and* औ *becomes* ऊवे, ऊवै, ऊवो, ऊवौ; *optionally*; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूए or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूए or चूवे), Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोवति; E. H. चूओं or चूओँ or चूवों or चूवौं *I leak*, Ap. चुअउं, Pr. चुअमि, Skr. श्रोतामि.

94. ए *or* ओ *with* अ, इ *and* उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए *or* ओ *with a long vowel remain in hiatus*; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिइ, Skr. लप्स्यते (*लभिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोए or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. ववइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोओं or बोओँ or बोवों or बोवौं *I sow*, Ap. ववउं, Pr. ववमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ *or* औ *with any vowel insert* य् *and* व्; *optionally*; the insertion of य् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् कै (see § 77) *of brothers*, Pr. भाइआणं, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया *brother*, Mg. भाइआह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौअन् or नउअन् कै (see § 78) *of barbers*, Pr. नाविआणं, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौआ or नौवा or नउआ or नउवा *barber*, Mg. नाविआह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौओं *I bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौएँ or नौवैं *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवंति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. अ *before or after a long vowel is often elided*; *before*; E. H. सुआरू *cook*, A. Mg. सूअआले, Skr. सूपकारः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएल्लं, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; *after*; E. H. सीरू or सीयरू *cold, damp*, Pr. सीअलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीरू or

पीयर् *yellow*, Pr. पीअलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सूर् or सूअर् *hog*, A. Mg. सूअले, Skr. शूकरः; E. H. थोर् or थोरा *little* (W. H. थोड़ा), Pr. थोअडं or थोअउअं (cf. H. C. 2, 125); Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् *drinking*, Mg. पिअंते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोअत् *sowing*, Mg. वअंते, Skr. वपन्.

Note: पीयत्, बोअत्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होत् *being*, देत् *giving*, लेत् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-अंत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवंते, लहंते, देंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ *or* ए *and* उ *or* ओ *after a vowel often become* य *ya or* य् *y and* व *va or* व् *v respectively*; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. धय् *having put* for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् *having found* for पाइ, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविअ, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् *having leaked*, for चूइ or चूऐ, Pr. चुइअ, Skr. च्युतित्वा; E. H. होय् *he is*, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् *having been* for होइ or होऐ, Pr. हविअ (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयर् or कोइर् *cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियर् *cocoanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नारिकेलः; O. H. आयसु *order* (in Tulsídás), Ap. आएसु, Pr. आएसो, Skr. आदेशः; E. H. चवथ् or चउथ् *fourth* (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँवूँ *I go*, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

Exception. The suff. इ of 3[d] pers. and उ of 2[nd] pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे *he gives*, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे *take thou*, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant अ after ई and ऊ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेल्लिए, तेल्लिय or तेल्लीअ, तेली *oilman*.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगले, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पइवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवआ, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. क्रिपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाती *letter*, Pr. पत्तिआ, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माथा *head*, Mg. मत्थए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. पिथी, Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. अजुधा, Skr. अयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. *भकतु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for sone doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (ड् or र् or ल् and ढ् or र्ह् or ल्ह्) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह्), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. य् and व्) and the nasal (म्) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व्, ल्, र्, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्क्, च्च्, त्त्, न्न्, ब्ब्, प्प्) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. य् and व्) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.,* Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths,* Mg. कप्पडए, E. H. कपड़ा; Skr. कथितः *said,* Mg. कधिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.,* Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवड्डिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौड़ी, W. H. कौड़ो. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (प् or ब्) are softened to व् (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., व् is *vocalized*; e. g., Skr. शपथः *oath,* A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सौंह् (for सउह्); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (क्, ग्) and palatals (च्, ज्) is substituted the euphonic य् (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., य् is vocalized; e. g., Skr. नगरम् *town,* Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैर्; Skr. रजनी *night,* Mg. लयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह् (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुरुथ *you make,* Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. करह्; Skr. पक्षे, Ap. पक्खहिं, E. H. पाहीं (for पाखीं). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr., य् and व् are sometimes vocalized (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also म् (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and य् and व् only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H extends the practice occasionally to र्, ल्, ह्, म्, न्, though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial य् is always hardened to ज्; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial य् and व् (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कारज्ज; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पव्वत्. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change ट् to ल्, but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve ड् or change it to ड्ड, but not to ड्.

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally, क् and ग् were usually elided; exceptionally क् was changed to ग् (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396); च् and ज् were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177); ट् and ड् were never elided, but ट् softened to ड् (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) त् and द् were not elided, but त् softened to द् (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) द् must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavatí, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally, प् and ब् are softened to व् (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally, ख् and घ् were, as a rule, reduced to ह् (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396); ह् and फ् were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and ह् was always changed to ह्, but ह् left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187) थ् was changed to ध्, and ध् optionally reduced to ह् (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally, फ् was always changed to भ्, and भ् optionally reduced to ह् (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of unaspirates: exceptionally ग्; regularly ड्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words द्; regularly व्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख्; regularly ह्, क् and ह्; optionally ध् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and ज् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, बजै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्च्, ज्ज्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् *becomes* ग्; *rarely*; 1) original; thus E. H. काग् *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for *कववा), Mg. काअए); E. H. साग् *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. शाकम्; E. H. सगड् *cart* (W. H. सगड्), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. शकटम्; E. H. सग् *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगुन् *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; E. H. ऐग्यारह् *eleven*, Ap. *एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. पगट् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) *resultant*; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगताई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चक्र् *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्कं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरी *she-goat*, Ap. वक्रिआ, Skr. वक्रिका.

Note: Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् *becomes* ड् *or* र्; *very rarely*; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for *निवाटै, Pr. निव्वट्टइ or निव्वट्टेइ, Skr. निर्वर्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेर् *tree* for *पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टी, Skr. पत्री (?).

104. ड् *becomes* ड् *or* र्; *as a rule*; र् *is more usual*; 1) original; thus E. H. कपड़ा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कप्पडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवाड़ा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. घरै or घऽै *he fashions*, Pr. घडइ (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति; E. H. चिर्इ *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चडइआ, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. चिड़िया; E. H. तोरै or तोऽै *he breaks*, Pr. तोडइ or तोडेइ, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H. नर or नऽ *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः; E. H. परै or पऽै *he falls*, Pr. पडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H. परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवआ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्; E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or पडिवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापर or पापऽ *cake*, Mg. पप्पडे, Skr. पर्पटः; E. H. वारी or वाऽी *garden*, Pr. वाडिआ, Skr. वाटिका; E. H. भर or भऽ *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लऽिका *boy*, Mg. *लडिक्कए from Skr. लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लड़का; E. H. लरै or लऽै *he quarrels* (*makes uproar*), Mg. लडइ, Skr. ऽटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H. सरै or सऽै *it rots*, Pr. सडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. शाद्यति; generally in the E. H. *pleonastic suffixes* ऽ or र, ऽा or रा, आऽ or आर, आऽा or आरा, Ap. Mg. ऽे, उए, अऽडे, अऽडए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus E. H. गोर or गोऽ *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडो, Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. थोर or थोऽ *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg. थोअडे, Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकऽा *small piece*, Ap. Mg. *ठोक्कडए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. चमरा or चमऽा *leather*, Ap. Mg. चम्मडअं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बछरू or बछऽू *calf*, Ap. वच्छउउ, Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकऽा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कडअं, Skr. शतकम्; E. H. जेठरा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. जेट्ठडए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पछिवार or पछिवाऽ or °वारा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छिवअडे or °वअडए or पच्छिमअडे or °मअडए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पछारी or पछाऽी (scl. रस्सी) *hind-rope* (for tying horses' hind-legs), Ap. पच्छअडिआ, Skr. पश्चक°; E. H. अगारी or अगाऽी *fore-rope*, Ap. अगअडिआ, Skr. अग्रक°, etc. — 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कौऽी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C. 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. ऽ *becomes* ल्; *only original*; very rarely; thus the E. H. pleonastic suffix ल् or ला, Ap. Mg. ऽे or उए (cf. H. C. 4, 429), e. g., E. H. परल् or °ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or °उए, Skr. पर्यः; E. H. मोटल् *fat*, Ap. Mg. *मोट्टडे or *मुट्टडे, Skr. मूर्त्तः; E. H. मउली *mother*, Ap. Mg. *माउडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. छिलोतर्‌सै or °सो, Ap. Mg. *छ्डुत्तर्‌सयं or *छ्लुत्तर्‌सयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. *छ्डुत्तर्‌सउ, Skr. षड्उत्तर्‌शतम्.

Note: This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश *sixteen*, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोर्‌ह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः *tank*, Ap. तलाउ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तर्‌ाउ or तर्‌ाव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् *a kind of reed*, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर्‌ or नल् or नड्; Skr. नाडिका *stalk*, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नाडो.

106. ड् *becomes* न्; *only original*; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *that* (lit. *of that kind*), Ap. तेवड्डु (H. C. 4, 407) or *तेवडो, Pr. तेड्डो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which* (lit. *of which kind*), Ap. जेवड्डु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. जेड्डो, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who* (lit. *of what kind*), Ap. कवण्ण (H. C. 4, 395) or केवड्डु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवत्तिय° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केड्डो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. थुथज्ञ or थुथना *mouth* (of a horse, etc.) from थोथ् *mouth*.

107. न् *becomes* ड् *or* र्; *very rarely*; always resultant; as E. H. सर्‌सठि or सउसठि or सतसठि *sixty seven*, Pr. सत्तसट्ठी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. ड् *becomes* र्; *very rarely*; always original; thus गग्गरी *waterpot*; Pr. गग्गरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गद्गदिका; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, Pr. सत्तरी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for *सत्तड्डी, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °र्‌ह् *ten*, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. बार्‌ह *twelve*, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

Note: This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. ड् *becomes* ल्; *only original*; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or अल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् *been* (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् *put*, Mg. धल्लिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. *कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविअ), Skr. प्राप्तः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्तः; E. H. पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चरल् or चरिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. *सद्दं, Skr. शतम्.

Note: This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कड़े, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलअं (Sak. 37, 13) for *कलिअअं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईलिशे for *ईदिशे, Skr. ईदृशः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीप्तम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for *पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for *अट्सी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् *becomes* र्; *as a rule*; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. राए् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

Exceptions. E. H. लेनुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. *लंनुडिआ, Skr. रज्जूः; E. H. लरै or लड़ै *he quarrels* (S. रड़े), Mg. लडइ, Skr. रटति (cf. लटति or लडति); but E. H. राड़ि or राड़ि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडी, Skr. राटिः; E. H. डालै or डारै *he throws*, Mg. *डालेइ or दालेइ, Skr. दाऱयति (also दालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवलेइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुत्तरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुरुत्तरशतम्; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चत्तलीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालअं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाऱकम्.

111. ल् *becomes* न्; *sometimes*; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ले or लए; e. g., E. H. जामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. *जम्मुले (see § 18) or जम्बुले, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एत्तुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. इयतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेत्तिलए or तेत्तुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेत्तिलए or जेत्तुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केत्तिलए or केत्तुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुल्ल or अप्पुल्लअं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् or °यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ल (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or *अइसुल्ल (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ल or *तइसुल्ल, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. *जइसिल्ल or *जइसुल्ल, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ल or *कइसुल्ल, Skr. कीदृशः, see also § 31.

Note: There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगलं or लंगलं, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. ण् *becomes* न्; *as a rule*; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पाणी) *water*, Mg. पाणिअं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ष्ट् *becomes* ठ्; *very rarely*; only resultant; thus E. H. कोठ् *leprosy* for *कोष्ट्, Pr. कुट्ठं (or कोट्ठं cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोट्ठं?), Skr. कुष्टम्; E. H. रुठ् *angry*, Mg. लुट्ठ (or लुट्ठ?), Skr. रुष्टः; E. H. अठतिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

Note: This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ष्ट् has a tendency to change to ट्ठ् in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ठ् *becomes* ठ् *or* ट्ठ्; *as a rule*; ठ् *is more usual*; thus 1) original; E. H. कमढा or कोंढा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमढए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मढा or मढ़ा *shed*, Mg. मढए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मढी *small temple*, Pr. मढिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पढै *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीढा *stool*, Mg. पीढए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काढै or काढ़ै *he draws*, Pr. कड्ढइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. *कृष्टयति); E. H. बेढै *he encloses*, Pr. वेड्ढइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेट्ठइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. बढै *he grows*, Pr. वड्ढइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धते; E. H. बढई or बढ़ई or बढ़ई (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वड्ढए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूढा *old man*, Mg. वुड्ढए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृद्धकः; E. H. बूढी *old women*, Pr. वुड्ढिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृद्धिका; E. H. डेढ़ or देढ़ *one and a half*, Mg. दिवड्ढ (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. अढाई *two and one half*, Pr. अड्ढअड्ढा, Skr. अर्द्धतृतीया (see § 416); E. H. साढे *one half more*, Pr. सड्ढ°, Skr. सार्द्ध°.

115. ठ् *becomes* ल्ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. कुल्हाड़ा *axe*, Mg. कुठालए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुठाजकः; E. H. कुल्हाड़ी *small axe*, Mg. कुठालिआ, Skr. कुठाजिका; E. H. कोल्हू *mill (for making sugar or oil)*, Mg. कुढले, Skr. कुठजः (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. दुलहा *bridegroom*, दुलही or दुलहिन् *bride* (spelled H. H. दुल्हा, दुल्हिन् see § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्लहए, दुल्लहिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उद्वोढा, उढ्ढा (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालइ or निक्कालेइ, Skr. निष्कालयति (of R. कल्; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कड्ढइ, Skr. निष्कर्षति (as Bs. I, 354). As to कोल्हू, the Mg. कुढले might be कुढुले in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. कुढ़ुल् *axe* for Mg. कुठाले, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) कुढुए, कुढू or कोल्हू (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुठारः. Mg. कुठालू *tree (post?)*, which might also produce कोल्हू. An instance of this change in Pr. is अंकोल्ल° for *अंकोल्ह° (H. C. 1, 200; cf. पल्लट्टइ and पल्हत्थइ H. C. 4, 200), Skr. अङ्कोठ°.

bb) Reduction.

116. ख् *and* घ् *become* ह्; generally when original; as E. H. मुह or मुँह *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह or मेँह *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. पीहर *father's family*, Pr. पिउहरं (H. C. 1, 134) for *पिउघरं, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नैहर *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर *idol temple*, Pr. *देअघरं, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for *रखै, Mg. लक्खइ, Skr. उच्यते (pass.); E. H. पाहीं *by the side of* for *पाखीं, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. कहूँ or काहूँ *by the side of* for *कखूँ or *काखूँ, Ap. *कक्खहुं, Skr. कक्षे (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes ख् remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. लिखल् *written*, not *लिहल्, Mg. लिहिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 187 लिहइ), to distinguish from E. H. लिहल् *taken* for *लहल्, Mg. लहिदे; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख् *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख् *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी *friend*, etc.

Note: The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दक्खिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख् *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. क् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माँही or माही *amidst* for *माकी, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

Note: Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant य् = ज्, as in Pr. झाहा for Skr. छाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ह् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. *पढइल्ल, Mg. पढमिल्ल (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार् or पहाड़ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअअडे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहारा or पहाड़ा *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. *पढिअअउए, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the ह् is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढ़ा *read*, Mg. पढिअए, W. H. पढ़्यौ, Ap. पढिअउ.

Note: The root पृ or प्रथ् shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुढवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिधं or पुधं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पध°. The only other instances of the change of ह् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिढरो, Skr. पिठरः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुढारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. J, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for *कड्ढावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कड्ढइ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल°, S. पेहेरो, see § 401.

119. ध् *becomes* ह्; always when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहेदि or कधेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साह् *a title of merchants*, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर् *deaf,* Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; E. H. दही *curds,* see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह् *lizard, aligator,* Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat,* see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार् or कहाँर् *porter,* Mg. खंधआले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or *कंधआले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. स्कंधकारः.

120. भ् *becomes* ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहै *he strings,* Pr. गुहइ् or गुभइ् (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish,* A. Mg. सहलिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. शफरिका; E. H. सोहै *it looks well,* Pr. सोहइ् (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर् *deep,* Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरः; E. H. अहीर् *herdsman,* Mg. आहीले, Skr. आभीरः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुन्नाहल् *pearl,* Pr. मुन्नाहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for *मुन्नाभलं, Skr. मुक्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit,* Mg. *कंटअहले, Skr. कण्टकफलः; E. H. सुहाग् *good fortune,* Pr. सुहग्गं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुँहार् or कोँहार् *potter,* Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भआले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकारः; E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports,* Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for *सगहा or *सगभा, Mg. सगब्भए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीह् or जीभ् *tongue,* Pr. जीहा or जिब्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा.

Note: Words with original भ् are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभाउ *disposition,* Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. य् *becomes* इ् *and combines with the adjacent vowels*; thus 1) य *ya* to इ्, as E. H. बिगत् *individual,* Skr. व्यक्तः (semitats.); 2) अय *aya* to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred,* A. Mg. सयं, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time,* A. Mg. समयें, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising,* Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर् or नेर् *town,* Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगरम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye,* Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night,* Mg. रयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. रजनी; E. H. पैँता *foot of a bed,* Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पइँत् *backyard,* Ap. Mg. *पच्छियंते or पच्छिमंते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. व् *becomes* उ *and combines with the adjacent vowels*; thus 1) व *va* to उ, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) वि *vi* to उ, as E. H. नौई *he will bow* for *नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौवों or हौओं *I am* for *हउओं, Ap. हविअउं, Pr. हविअ म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or *जनोउ *sacrificial thread*; Pr. *जन्नोअविअं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) अव *ava* optionally to औ; as E. H. औरू or अउरू *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अपरम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौंरा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पठौतों or पठउतों *if I send*, Ap. *पठ्वंतउं, Pr. पठ्वंतऽम्हि or पठ्वंतऽम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्नस्मि; sometimes to ओ; as E. H. सोंह् *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोंढा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to ऊ; as E. H. लूनू or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवँलइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति; 4) इव *iva* to ओ; as E. H. बहिनोई, see § 49; or to ऊ, as E. H. पछूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. *अग्गिवँअए, Skr. अग्रिमगकः; 5) इवा or इवे to ओ; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. परिवेषयति; 6) आव *ava* optionally to औ; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

Note: It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. प् is in Pr. व् (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. उ; and Skr. म् in Ap. Pr. म् or वँ (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. उँ or उ. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओझाओ or उवज्झाओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओझा *magician*; Ap. पढउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for *पढविँ, Pr. पढमि or पढामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पढौं or पढों *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. व् *before* इ (*or* ई) *is elided*; *as a rule* (cf. § 33); *only original*; thus E. H. ऐकइस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् *twenty five* for *पचइस्, A. Mg. *पंचवीसं or °सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्ठावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. ओनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. ऊणवीसा or एकूणवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. ऊनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइबों or पठैबों *I shall send*, Ap. *पट्ठविव्वउं or *पट्ठाविव्वउं, Pr. पट्ठाविअव्वओम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पट्ठाविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलों or पठैलों *I have sent*, Mg. पट्ठाविदओम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीग्, (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीग्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. तेवीग्, S. ट्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीग्, S. पंञावीह or पंञीह, etc.

124. र् (= Mg. ल्) *before* इ *is elided*; *sometimes*; only original; thus E. H. कय् *having done* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. करिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धय् *having placed* for *धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. *करिअ or *करिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै *upon*, Ap. Mg. परि, Mg. परे, Skr. परे; E. H. पै *however*, Mg. परि or परे, Skr. परम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ल (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एरिस° or Mh. एरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृश°; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ल (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केरिस° or Mh. केरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृश°;

E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of this kind,* Ap. Mg. *तइसिल्ल, A. Mg. तालिस° or तारिस° (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश°; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind,* Ap. Mg. जइसिल्ल, A. Mg. जालिस° or जारिस° (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. सा *like,* A. Mg. सलिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in बइल्लो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिवर्दः.

125. ल् *after* उ *is elided*; *rarely*; only original; thus E. H. पुआल् *straw,* Pr. *पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पाअवाली, Skr. पादपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. केँचुवा or केँचन्वा *earth-worm,* Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्हू *sugar-mill,* see § 115.

126. ह् *before or after* इ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. ई (for *इई), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be,* Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसी or हसी (§ 67) *he will laugh,* Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. एँ (for *अइँ) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ *they do,* Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh,* Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or एँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाइँ or पाछेँ *behind,* Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्य; e. g., E. H. मीठे *sweet,* O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्ठहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसीँ *we laugh,* Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes,* Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ *they take,* Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for *लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. बिफै or बिहफै *thursday,* Pr. विहप्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (कर्) *of me,* Ap. Pr. मह (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., ओँ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

ग्रहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. ग्रथः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगौ or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मग्गहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयथः; also W. Gd. ग्रौं or ग्रों or ग्रौं or एँ suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. ग्रहुं or ग्रहं or ग्रहिं, Skr. ग्रानाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौं, H. H. नरों, S. नराँ or नरें *men*, Ap. णरहुं or णरहं or णरहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. ऊँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. ग्रहुं (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. ग्रमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. ग्रामः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलूँ *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुं, Pr. चलमु, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह् in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिग्राहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for *सरिहाहँ, Skr. सदृशानाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् *before* इ *and before or after* उ *is optionally elided*; often; generally with anunásika; thus E. H. गोसाईं or गोसामी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईं or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुग्रँर or कुग्रर or कुवर *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवँर or कुमर (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुग्राँर or कुवार or कुमार *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुग्राँरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवँारिग्रा or कुमारिग्रा, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूईं or भूमी, Pr. भूमिग्रा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूग्राँ or धूवाँ *smoke*, Ap. धूवँउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोंईं or कोई *waterlily* or *jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुइग्रा (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोंहैं or सोंहीं *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहम्मि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रूँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. रोम; E. H. रोग्राँ or रोवाँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमग्रं, Skr. रोमकम्. Rarely without anunásika; as E. H. गइल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

Note: Four instances of the elision of म् before उ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. जउँणा, Skr. यमुना *Jamná*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चामुण्डा *Durga*; Pr. काउँग्रो, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. ग्रणिउँतग्रं, Skr. ग्रतिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. जमुना, not tadbh. *जौन्; perhaps to distinguish from जौन् *foreigner*, Pr. जवणो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. जौनपुर *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before इ might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् *before or after* ड् *or before* उ; *with or without anunásika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव्ँ or ठाव् *place, residence,* Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. थौँ *from* for *थाइँ (N. थाञि), Ap. थाणि, Pr. थाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also तेँ, तईँ, ताईँ; E. H. वाँसुरी *flute,* Pr. वंसणालिआ, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्य for O. H. ग्जि, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठावँ, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठामु, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. य् *and* व् *become* ज् *and* ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कारज् *work,* Pr. *कारिज्जं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?); E. H. अचारज् *teacher,* A. Mg. *आचारिज्जे, Skr. आचार्य; (or semitats.?); E. H. अचरज् *wonderful,* Pr. अच्छरिज्जं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् *twenty four,* Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. छबिस् or छब्बिस् *twenty six,* A. Mg. छव्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. परबत् *mountain,* Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् *eastern,* Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. घ् *or* ह् *become* ग् *or* ड् *or* ड़्; in E. H. घडै or गडै *he fashions,* Pr. घडइ or गढइ (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगरै or बिगडै *it is spoilt, destroyed,* Pr. विगढइ or विघडइ, Skr. विघटते; also भ् *or* फ् *becomes* ब् *or* प्; as E. H. परसै *he touches,* Pr. फरिसइ (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अबरक् *talc,* Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् *or* ग्, ट्, प् *and* ब् *become optionally* घ्, ह्, फ् *and* भ् *respectively*; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् *manifest* (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौटा *firstborn,* Mg. *पढमिल्लउट्ठए (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् *again,* Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सब् or सभ् *all,* Mg. सव्वे, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एखत्तर् *seventy one* for एक-हत्तर्; E. H. पञ्चत्तर् *seventy five* for पञ्च-हत्तर्; E. H. सत्तत्तर् *seventy seven* for सत-हत्तर्; E. H. अठत्तर् *seventy eight* for अठ-हत्तर्.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अब्बरख् or अब्बरक् *talc*, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमार् or हमरा *our* (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फुआ *father's sister* for *पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्छा or पिउसिआ (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृष्वसा; also E. H. फुकी; E. H. फुप् *flower*, Pr. पुप्फं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उखारै or उखाडै *he plucks up* for *उकाड्ढै, Pr. उक्कड्ढइ् (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाऐ or निबाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निव्वाहेइ्, Skr. निर्वाहयति; E. H. म्हैँस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

Note: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिणी or भइणी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढइ् or घडइ् *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढै or गाढै or गडै or गाडै (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंधराँ or पंदरहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for *इअहो; उको *that* for *उअहो (§ 438, 4); खाँ *from* for *कहाँ, खे *to* for *कहे (§ 375); चाल्हारो *forty* for *चालीहारो; पांहू or पान्हू ञो *own* for *पानह ञो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for *परिहै, Mg. *पलिहइ् or *पलिधइ् or *पलिधेइ् (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. परिधाति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुच्चइ् (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पय्यावच्चइ्); also कीच् or कीचर् and चीक् or चीकर् *mud* (Skr. चिक्किद्); नखलौ and लखनौ *Lucknow*; बिराम् and बिमार् *sick* (persian بیمار); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै *he sinks*, Pr. बुड्डइ् (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. ब्रुडति (i. e. मज्जति).

Note: Also in Pr.; as बाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनारस् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अचलपुरम्, E. H. अलवर् (for *अलअउरं) *Alwar*; Pr. मरहट्ठं (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरहठ् or मराठ् *Marátha*, see § 32; Pr. द्रहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ह्रदः, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिआरो or हरिआलो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियर् *green*; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक्, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानब्बे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवुई, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिक्कनावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कपाअमट्टी, Skr. चिक्कणाकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिरथमी *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए् (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशरिकः.

Note: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह् or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or रिअं (for रिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृश *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तर्. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिवि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how* for *केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवड्; G. चुमाल्लीश् *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस्; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. द् in E. H. पन्द्रह् *fifteen*, Pr. पण्रह (H. C. 2, 43) or पन्नरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again र् in E. H. करोर् or करोड् *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडी (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. *स्रापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. शापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐग्यारह्, Pr. *एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, Pr. *एक्कावण्णं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. *एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानब्बे *ninety one*, Pr. *एक्काणवुई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानब्बे or निनानब्बे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

Note: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडी, but it means *score, twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐग्° and ऐक्य° stand for ऐगय° and ऐक्कय, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as व्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyâsa*.

δ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कए, Skr. पक्वकः; E. H. पत्थर् *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तरः; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मए, Skr. निःकर्मकः; E. H. कान्ह् *krishna*, Mg. कण्हे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिस्वास् *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो *I walked*, Ap. *चलिअउं, Pr. चलिअम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. बिन्ती *petition* for बिनती, Pr. विण्णत्तिआ, Skr. विज्ञप्तिका; E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom* for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहए, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. बिस्वा *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वीसवँए or वीसमए, Skr. विंशमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गद्हा, Mg. गद्दहए, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. बरेला *hog* for वराहेला, Ap. Mg. *वराहिल्लए, Skr. वराहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखत्तर् *seventy one*, सयत्तर् *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak [1]), homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogenous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क्, त्त्, त्थ्, म्म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as ङ्क्, ङ्ग्, ञ्ज्, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

न्ह्, म्ह्, ल्ह्, ह्, ह्ह् = ह्); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the tadbh. and tats., are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*; Pr. सिरी (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवार् *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर् *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for *वस्सा, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. °वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. रई or रत्ती (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रअणं (Vr. 3, 60) for रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. रतन् *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conjs., tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvára preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सङ्का, Skr. सन्ध्या, E. H. साँझ् *evening*), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. बम्हणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. बामन् *brâhman*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्हत्थइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, E. H. पलथै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. पिउ or पिउ, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyása*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

-aa) Dissolution.

138. अ *is interpolated*; *often*; E. H. इमली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. *अमिलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदरसन् *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदरिसणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन् *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरिसणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरही *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिकः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. सुकर् or सुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अम्बिरं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अम्बिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख् *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरुक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरछा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरज् *wonderful*, कारज् *work*, अचारज् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बहँई or बढई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. बमहन् or बामन् *bráhman*, Mg. बम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कनहैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कण्हए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस् *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहस्रं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकर् *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पारबत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्त्तिः; E. H. जनम् *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रतन् *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. बिरात् *individual*, रगत् *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग°), भगत् *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगताई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बरकि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بلکہ).

139. इ *is interpolated*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. अगिनि or अगनि or आगि *fire*, Pr. अग्गिणी (Ls. 244) or अग्गणी (H. C. 1, 102) or अग्गी (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिर् or मिसर् *a bráhman family-name*, A. Mg. *मिसिरे (but मीसें *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come*, पाइल् or पावल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिछ् *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.

Note: The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. गिन *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. ग्यी, O. H. गिनी, Skr. ज्ञी; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. उ *is interpolated*; *rarely*; thus E. H. पुहुब्, W. H. पुरुब्, Pr. पुहुवं (Ls. 183) or पुरवं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरवं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुहुग् *top, point,* but सींग् *horn* and साँग् *spear,* Pr. सिंगं or संगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. *Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones*; thus क् becomes ग् (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. बिगत्, रगत्, भगत्, etc.; see § 138; ज्ञ् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सइन् or सैन् *sign,* Pr. *सइणा or *सन्निणा, Skr. सज्ञा, cf. Pr. राइणा (H. C. 3, 51) for *राज्ञिणा, Ps. Pr. राचिजा (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राज्ञा; द्व् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अइलोँ or आयोँ *I came,* Mg. आविद्ऽम्हि or आविअऽम्हि, Skr. आप्तोऽस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पइलोँ or पायोँ *I obtained;* Mg. पाविद्ऽम्हि or पाविअऽम्हि, Skr. प्राप्तोऽस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °गिन°, see § 139, note.

Note: The participial examples, as अइलोँ, पायोँ, etc. and Pr. तविओ (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तप्तः, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a *connecting* (suff. इ + त), not a *dissolving* vowel.

142. *Affinities.* Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरिसणं; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंगं (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग् *bow*; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse* = A. Mg. *गलिहआ or *गर्हिआ, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गरियावै or गलियावै *he abuses* for *गरिहावै, A. Mg. *गलिहावइ or Pr. *गरिहावइ, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रअणं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for *रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वइरं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for *वज्रिरं, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from बैर् *enmity*, Pr. वइरं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. बज्र् (semitats.); Pr. सुइल्लं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुक्किलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविओ *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for *तविदो, Skr. तप्तः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. तत्तो; Pr. पउमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for *पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राइणा *by a king* for *राजिणा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अग्गी *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्किलं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल्; Pr. पुरुव्वं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरुवं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुब् or पुरब्[1]); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for *सुखुमं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सकै *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. शक्नोति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कए (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. बाघ् *tiger*, Mg. वाघे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्चइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माछी *fly*, Pr. मच्छिआ (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मक्षिकाः; ज् in E. H. आज् *to-day*, Pr. अज्ज (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अद्य; E. H. बूझै *he understands*, Pr. बुज्झइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. पीठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्टिः; ड् in E. H. कौडी or कौरी, see § 104; E. H. बढै *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. बात् *event, word*, Pr. वत्ता (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वार्त्ता; E. H. हाथ् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थे, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गद्हा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूध् *milk*, Pr. दुद्धं (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. छपय् or छपै *a kind of verse*, Mg. छप्पये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. षट्पदः; E. H. बाफ् *steam*, Mg. वप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. बाष्पः; ब् or व् in E. H.

1) सुक्किलं and पुरुव्वं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has ब् for व्व्, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सब्ब् *all*, A. Mg. सब्बे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. जीभ् *tongue*, Pr. जिब्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा; ड्ड in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किका or पल्यङ्किका; ञ् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. *पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सण्णा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलटै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्तयति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्से or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but* for बल्कि, Pers. بلکہ; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطے (?).

Exception. Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर् or पाथर् *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कअं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच्च् or सच् or साच् or साँच् *true*, उच्च् or उँच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बचा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बछा or बचा *young*, Mg. बच्छए (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टए, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिद्ध् or गीध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पंक् (i. e. पङ्क् § 13) or पाँक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाधा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अवध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मंधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for *पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोजन् *necessity* for *पर्योजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for *पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. जामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुझै *he understands*, Mg. सम्बुज्झइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिरथी *earth* (also पिरथमी see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in बामन् or

ब्राम्हन् or ब्रमहन् *Brâhman*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishna* (e. g., in कानपुर् *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सून् *daughter-in-law* for *सुन्हू, Pr. *सुण्हुआ or *सोण्हुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. स्नुषा (or *स्नुषका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोल्हू or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for *गाल्ही, see § 142.

Exception. Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. ज़ोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. ज़ोणहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. *द्योत्स्नयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus ड् as a rule becomes ड़् or ड़्; e. g., in E. H. कौड़ी or कौड़ो *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes ड़् (§ 110) as in E. H. गाड़ी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; ण् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कणे, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, सून् see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ऋ् or ह्, as in E. H. बढ़ै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes ब् (§ 129), as in E. H. सब् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चक्की or चक्की *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लाज् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्ठी, Skr. षष्टिः; E. H. रात् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अड्ढए (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. बप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. बप्पा; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्मे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

Exception 1. Sometimes ड् and ह् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँड़ै *he shaves*, मोँढा *stool*, see § 149.

Exception 2. Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परखै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महाग्घे (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. खाँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. खंधए (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचरज् *wonderful* for *अहरज्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बछा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पछतावै *he repents,* Pr. पच्छत्तावइ, Skr. पश्चात्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूचँ् or मूछँ् *beard,* see § 56; E. H. चाहै or छाहै *he desires,* Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ठ् in E. H. अरतिस् or अडतिस् or अऊतिस् *thirty eight,* see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अडतालिस् or अऊतालिस् *forty eight,* Pr. अट्ठअत्तालीसं (or अडयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशात्; E. H. अडसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight,* Pr. अट्ठसट्ठी, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः; ठ् in E. H. बडा *great* for *बठ्ठा, Mg. वड्ढ (or वड्ढ° Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृढकः; E. H. बेंड् *enclosure* for *बेठ्ठ, Mg. वेड्ढ (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गडै or गढै *he fashions,* बिगरै or बिगडै *it is spoilt,* see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्खं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200 for *पल्लट्ठइ) or पल्हत्थइ *he turns over,* see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंछुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand,* B., O., E. H. हाथ् (§ 143); M. हाती *elephant,* B., O., E. H. हाथी (§ 145); M. सांज् *evening,* B., O., E. H. साँझ् (§ 149, 1); M. साँदू *hole in a wall,* E. H. सेँध्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीडी *ladder,* E. H. सीढी, Pr. *सिट्ठी, Skr. श्रेधी (?); M., B. साडे $2^1/_2$; M. दीड, B. देड् $1^1/_2$; B. आटत्रिश्, M. अडतीस् or अठतीस् 38; B. आटचल्लिश् 48; M. बडा *great,* बेडा *enclosure,* etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्ट, स्त, श्र for ष्ट्, स्थ् and च्छ (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागालं, Skr. कोष्ठागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुश्रदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes;* thus always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त°); e. g., E. H. होत् *being,* Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. करत् *doing,* Mg. कलंते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेंते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five,* Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचीस् *twenty five,* see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five,* Pr. *पंचपन्नं, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् *pain,* see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् *pregnant,* Pr. गब्भिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, झपय्, सब्, पालकी,

पलटै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुकै, पलथै, see § 144; E. H. बढ़ै, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. आम्, but अमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. टूबरू, but दुबरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उत्तलइ, Skr. उत्तरति; E. H. गद्हा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलथै, see § 144; and others.

Note: Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलंति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच्° in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिश्, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long*; *as a rule*; thus आ in E. H. आठ् *eight*, Pr. अट्ठ, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *queen*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्थं, Skr. संस्थम्, etc.; ई in E. H. भीख् or भीक् *alms*, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रीछ् or रीख् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्षः; E. H. दीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सीथ् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सित्थं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिक्थम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिण्णि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; ऊ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. ऊन् *wool*, Pr. उण्णा, Skr. ऊर्णा; E. H. मूठ् *fist*, Pr. मुट्ठी (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्टिः; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्ते, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेज् *bedding*, Pr. सेज्जा (see § 6), Skr. शय्या; E. H. पेड़ू *lump*, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐंचा *crooked*, Pr. *ऐंचअं, Skr. अञ्चितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोठ् *hip*, Mg. *पोट्टु, Skr. प्रोथः; E. H. बोलै *he says*, Pr. बोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. वदति; E. H. पोथी *book*, Pr. पोत्थिआ (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148. *The preceding vowel becomes* ए *or* ओ; *rarely*; thus आ in E. H. लेजुर् or लेजुरी *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेड़ *tree*, see § 103; E. H. बेँगन् *egg-plant*, Mg. वंगणो, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एड़ी *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अंह्रिः; E. H. ऐँचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकड़ा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केँचुरो or केँचुली *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोँछ् or मूँछ् *moustache*,

चोँच् *bill,* see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle,* A. Mg. मङ्किल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केँचुवा *earth-worm,* see § 125; E. H. हेदू *hole,* Pr. छिद्दं (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. छिद्रम्; E. H. सेम् *bean,* Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपै *he is angry,* Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोढ् *leprosy,* see § 113; E. H. कोख् *belly,* Pr. कुक्खी, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोँठ *ginger,* Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शुण्ठिः.

Note: The change of अ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहरू *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art,* O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. ताँघ् *leg,* Pr. तंघा, Skr. तङ्घा; E. H. बाँझ् *barren woman,* Pr. वंका, Skr. बन्ध्या; E. H. साँझ् *evening,* Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्ध्या; E. H. चाँदू *moon,* see p. 29; E. H. डाँड़ी *footpath,* Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot,* Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. काँपै *he trembles,* see p. 29; etc. Again इ in E. H. मीँजै *he rubs,* Pr. मिंजइ, Skr. मृञ्जति; E. H. सीँचै *he irrigates,* Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again ऊ in E. H. सूँड *elephant's trunk,* Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शुण्डा; E. H. मूँडै *he shaves,* Pr. मुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, एँचा, बेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँड़, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि् *eye,* see § 43; E. H. माँगै *he requests,* Pr. मग्गइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गयति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. *अच्ची, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true,* Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent,* A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँख् or ईख् *sugarcane,* Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँटू or ईटू *brick,* Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीँत् or भीत् *wall,* Pr. भित्ती, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीँदू or नीदू *sleep,* see § 42. Again ऊ in E. H. ऊँख् or ऊख् *sugarcane,* Pr. *उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. ऊँच् *high,* Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. ऊँट् *camel,* Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उष्ट्रः. Again ए

in E. H. केँकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होँठ् or होठ् *lip*, A. Mg. ओठ् (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओष्ठः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्तम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भत्तं (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सत्त (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सत्त; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अट्ठ (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आठ्, S. अठ, P. अट्ठ; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्ती (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. राति or रात्, P. रत्त, S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or श् or ष्); e. g., Pr. लासं (H. C. 2, 92) for *लस्सं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर् *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसई (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशत् or विंशतिः, E. H. बीस् *twenty*; Pr. सीसं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. *वास् *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for *अस्सा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. बिल्वम्, E. H. बेल् *wood-apple*; Pr. पोक्खरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर् *pond*; Pr. पोत्थओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोग्गरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर् *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क्ष *is elided*; *very rarely*; in E. H. चौधरी *headman, chief* for *चव्° (§ 69), *चम्°, A. Mg. चक्रधरिए, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. discus-holder; from °रिन् + क).

152. र् *is elided*; *rarely*; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (B. चोयाल्लिश), A. Mg. चोयालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. *चउचत्तालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = श्च), Skr. चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. *छच्चत्तालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. तेँतालिस् (O. तेयालिश), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for *तेचत्तालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वारिंशत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर् and ष् (or ट्) of षष् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउद्दह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + दश) or चउव्वारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + वार्); again छप्पओ (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or छम्मुहो or छंमु° (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), छग्गुणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर् + विंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर् + मुख); again छहत्तरि (छ + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्तति) or छहिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत्त° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउअत्त°; छचत्त° or छअत्त°; and similarly तिचत्त° or तिअत्त° (Skr. त्रिचत्वारिंशत्).

153. न् *is elided*; *sometimes*; in E. H. आउ and आन् *suff. of abstract nouns* for Ap. Pr. अअउ or अअणु, Pr. अअअं or अअणं or अअत्तं or अत्तणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनंम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for *चआरि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425, H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. बयालिस् *forty two*, A. Mg. बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for *बाअत्तालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. चवालिस् or चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. छियालिस् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सैँतिस् *thirty seven* (O. सइँतिश) for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. सत्ततीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैँतालिस् *forty seven* for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. *सत्तअत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. रोअब् or रोइब् *to weep*, Pr. रोत्तवुं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइअवुं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइवुं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियाँ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्तए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाइआ or *धातिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. *दातिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

appellation of a father or elder brother (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. *दातुए or *दत्तुए (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भातिए or *भत्तिए, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *मातिआ or *मत्तिआ, see § 63; E. H. बाय् *he is* for *बाइ, Pr. वत्तइ, Skr. वर्त्तते.

154. प्प् *is elided*; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooted*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौअन् or चैउअन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्न), Mg. *चउपन्नं or *चउप्पन्नं (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. व्व् *is elided*; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ए *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for *अए or *इए for *अव्वे or *इव्वे, Ap. *इव्वहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलब्बे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिव्वहे, Pr. चलिअव्वस्स, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for *खाइए) or खाइबे or खाब्बे *to eat*, Ap. खाइव्वहे, Pr. खाइअव्वस्स, Skr. खादितव्यस्य.

156. न् *is elided*; *rarely*; in E. H. पैँतिस् *thirty five* (O. पइँतिश, B. पयँत्रिश for पञ्च°), A. Mg. पन्नतीसं or पणतीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिस् *forty five* for पन्नअ°, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालीसं), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. *पन्नसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities.* In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of च्च् see in § 152, and of त्त् in § 153; others of त्र are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काऊण *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for *कात्तूण or *कत्तूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or *कृत्वानं), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for *कातव्वं or *कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms कर्त्तव्य); Pr. वअस्सअ° (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्व°. An instance of क्ल् is Pr. तेलोअं or तेल्लोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. *deest*; and of ग्र्, Mg. निग्गये *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निग्गये, Skr. निर्ग्रन्थः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्क्, ग्ग्, ग्घ्, क्ख्, च्छ् *become* क्क्, ङ्ग्, ङ्घ्, ङ्ख्, ञ्छ् *respectively*; thus क्क् in E. H. कंकर् *limestone*, Pr. *कक्करं, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कडुलु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः[1]); again ग्न् in E. H. नंग् *naked,* A. Mg. नग्गे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्नः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगी *naked,* नंगाई *nakedness,* etc.; again क्ख् in E. H. पंख् *wing,* A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी *fan,* पंखड़ी or पंखड़ो *flower-leaf* (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी *bird* (from Skr. पक्षिन्)[2]); again ग्घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced,* see § 145. exc. 2; again च्छ् in E. H. पंछी *bird,* Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंछाला *tail of a paper-kite* (Ap. *पच्छअडउ) from Skr. पक्ष *tail*[3]).

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंकं, Skr. वक्रम्, E. H. बाँक् *crooked*; Pr. अंसू, Skr. अश्रु, E. H. आँसू *tear*; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंछं, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूँछ् *tail*; Pr. पंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंजारो, Skr. मार्जारः, E. H. मंजार् *cat,* etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिच्छू or बीछू *scorpion* (M. विंचू) for Pr. विंछिओ or विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. ंस् *and* ंह् *become* न्स् *and* ङ्; *always*; thus ंस् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस *goose,* see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् *flesh,* see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा *slaughter,* see § 39, etc.; again ंह् in E. H. सिंघ् or सींघ् *lion,* see p. 29; E. H. संघार् *collection,* Pr. संघारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of ंह् to ङ् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of ंह् and ंस्, see §§ 38. 39; and of ंघ् see § 13.

160. ङ् *and* ह्म् *become* ङ् *and* ञ्; *rarely*; thus ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) *destitute,* Mg. *कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् *bracelet,* Pr. कंकणं (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् *bed,* Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगड़ी or पलंगड़ी *small bedstead,* Ap. पल्लंकडिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् *mud,* see p. 29; E. H.

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1) But E. H. ककड़ी or ककड़ी *cucumber,* Pr. कक्कडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँख्, पाँखा, पाँखो, cf. § 149.

3) पंछो and पंछाला might be corruptions for पुंछी, पुंछाला, from Pr. पुंछ, see note.

पाँगा *salt* (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकए, Skr. पङ्कः; E. H. पंगति *row* (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. ब्राँगर् *high ground*, Ap. वंकडं, Skr. वक्रम् (lit. *curved*); again क्ष् in E. H. कुंजी *key*, Pr. *कुंचिआ, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् *and* न् *become* ल्ह् *and* न्ह्; *optionally*; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् *yesterday* or *to-morrow*, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् *kite*, Mg. चिल्ले, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर् or चील्हर् *louse*, Ap. चिल्लडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेलर् or पेल्हर् *testicle*, Ap. पेल्लडं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लइ), Skr. पेलम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह *given*, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिण्णे (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह् *done* (Ap. Pr. किन्नउ H. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह् *taken* for *लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for *एन्ति or *इञ्चन्ति, Pr. इञ्चंति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पढिन् or पढेन् or O. H. पढेन्हि *they read* for *पठिञ्चन्ति, Pr. पठिञ्चंति, Skr. *पठितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलेन्हि *they walked* for *चलिञ्चन्ति, Pr. चलिञ्चंति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लत्थं (H. C. 2, 68) and पल्हत्थं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एण्हिं (Vr. 4, 33) for एण्हिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स्प् *becomes* स्प्; *rarely*; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *husbandman, householder*, Mg. °हत्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती *husbandry*.

163. ष्ट् *becomes* ण्ठ् *or* न्ठ्; *rarely*; E. H. गन्ना or गन्ढा or गाँठा *sugarcane* (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंडेरी or गंडेरी *joint of sugarcane*, Ap. गंडइल्लिआ, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. क्क् *becomes* त्त्; *very rarely*; E. H. कुत्ता *dog* (G. कुतर्), Ap. कुक्कुरु, Skr. कुक्कुरः (usually E. H. कूकर् or कुक्कर्); and its derivative E. H. कुतर् *puppy*.

165. त्य् *and* थ्य् *become* त्त् *or* त् *and* द्ध् *or* ध् *respectively*; *very rarely*; thus E. H. नित्त् or नित्, A. Mg. नित्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मढि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. त्त् *and* द्त् *become* ह्न् *and* ग्य्; *always in semitats.*; see §§ 36. 37.

c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

α) VOWELS.

167. अ *becomes* इ; *rarely*; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138); Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. आ *becomes* अ; *sometimes*; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचारू or आचारू *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अग्या or आग्या *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए *becomes* अ; *rarely*; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एक्कल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or *एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए *becomes* इ; *sometimes*; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् *eleven*; इक्यावन् or ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए *and* ओ *become* व *and* व *respectively*; *sometimes*; thus ए in E. H. यक् or ऐक् or एक् *one*, Mg. एक्के (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह् or ऐह् (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. वह् or ओह् (or ऊ) *he, that*, Ap. *एवेह or *एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. *एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. वनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of ऊन; cf. § 98.

172. अ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. भीतर् *within*, A. Mg. अब्भिंतर् (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीजै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. *अब्भिज्जइ, Skr. अभ्यर्थते (pass. of अर्द्); E. H. भीजै *he is wet*, Pr. *अब्भिज्जइ, Skr. अभ्यार्द्रयते (denom. of आर्द्र *wet*); E. H. काँढ *he sweeps*, Pr. *अक्कड्ढइ, Skr. अध्यर्द्रयति (caus. of अर्द्) or Skr. अध्याटयति (caus. of अट् *roam*, cf. Pr. कांटइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगा *upper garment*, A. Mg. अक्कंगए, Skr. अध्यङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अक्कंगिआ, Skr. अध्यङ्गिका; E. H. रहट् or अरहट् *water-wheel*; E. H. तीसी *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरत्निः, etc.

173. उ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. छाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or बइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविट्ठइ, Skr. *उपविष्टति

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बइट्ठउ H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. पै *upon*, see § 124; E. H. पाधा *teacher*, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् *and* द् *become* ट् *and* ड्; *rarely*; thus त् in E. H. टूटै or तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. टट्टू or तट्टू *pony*, Mg. *तट्टए (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्तृकः (of R. तॄ; cf. तुरग *horse*); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) *sectarian mark on the forehead*, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. ठोंठ् or ठोट् *beak* for *ठोट्, Pr. तोंडं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुण्डम्. Again द् in E. H. डीठ् or दीठ् or दीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. डाढी or दाढी *beard*, Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाड़ or दाड़ *tooth, tusk*, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार् or डाल् or दाल् *branch* (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दाली; E. H. डारा or डाला *branch*, A. Mg. *दालए or *डालए (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालइं), Skr. दाडकः; E. H. डारी or डाली *branch*, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाडिका; E. H. डेढ़ or देढ़ or डेवढ़ or देवढ़ *one and a half*, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर् or दोर् *cord*, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली *a swing, a dooly*, Pr. डोलआ or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डड्ढो or दड्ढो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढा *burnt, fire* (Skr. दाधृकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. डर or दर् *fear*; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् *malice, jealousy* and दाह् *burning*; Pr. डब्भो or दब्भो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाभ् *kusa-grass*; Pr. डसइ, Skr. दशति *he bites*, E. H. डसै; Pr. डट्ठो or दट्ठो, Skr. दष्टः *bitten, oppressed*, whence perhaps E. H. डाट् *threat*, डाटै or डाँटै *he threatens*; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै *it burns*, Mg. दहइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. उहइ (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंभ् *arrogance*, Pr. डंभो or दंभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. क्, ट्, ड् *become* ख्, ठ्, ढ्, *respectively*; *very rarely*; thus क् in E. H. खाँसी *cough*, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर् *beak* for *ठोर्, see §174; E. H. ढेँकुना *bug*, Pr. ढंकुणाओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुणाकः.

Note: Pr. examples are: खप्पर् (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खपर् *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कीलकः, but E. H. कीला *nail*; again Pr. छुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. छूछ् *mean*; again Pr. कडिलो or ञडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. ञटिलः, E. H. *deest.*

176. भ् *becomes* ह्; *rarely*; E. H. हाँड् or भाँड् *pot*, A. Mg. भंडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

Note: In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय् *he is.*

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हैस् or भैँस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see §178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for *बुहुखा, Mg. बुभुक्खए (or भुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भबूति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभूतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाफ् or बाफ् *steam*, see §143; E. H. फूप् or फूफ् *flower*, see §132.

178. म् *becomes* ब्; *very rarely*; in E. H. बहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see §177. 134.

Note: In Pr. वम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मथः, E. H. *deest.*

179. ल् *becomes* न्; *very rarely*; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

Note: In Pr. णाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. णंगलं *plough*, णंगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लाँगल् and लाँगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् *becomes* ल्; *very rarely;* E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नील (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot;* E. H. लीमू or नीमू *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

Note: In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree.*

181. य् *and* व् *become* ञ् *and* ब् *respectively;* always; thus य् in E. H. ञतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः (semitats); E. H. ञोग् *worthy*, Mg. योग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. ञानै *he knows*, Mg. याणइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or याणदि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. ज्ञानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. बात्, see § 143; E. H. बाते or बते *it is sounded,* Pr. वज्जइ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वद्यते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरबासी *citizen,* Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. स् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely;* E. H. हींचै or सींचै *he sprinkles,* see § 149.

Note: In Pr. ह्मवासो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सप्तपर्णाः; E. H. *deest.*

183. ह् *is prefixed; very rarely;* E. H. होंठ् *lip,* see § 149.

Note: Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो *so large,* ओडो or होडो *so large,* एतिरो or हेतिरो *so many* (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु *one* (Tr. 157), इति or हिति *here* (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एथा or हेया *here,* ओथा or होथा *there* (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे *hither* (§ 468, b).

184. *Consonants are elided;* only in alliterative phrases; thus रू in रोटी ओटी *meal* (lit. bread, etc.); or खू in खाना आना *dinner;* very commonly पू, as पानी आनी *water;* आस् पास् *close by;* उलटू पुलटू *topsy-turvy;* अछतावै पछतावै *he repents deeply;* etc.

γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. अ *is interpolated;* often; thus E. H. नहान् *bathing,* Ap. Pr. ण्हाण (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् *he bathes,* Pr. ण्हाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति: E. H. नहाटै *he flees,* Pr. *ण्हट्टइ, Skr. *स्नस्तयति (denom. of part. स्नस्त); E. H. पहोन् *carriage,* Ap. पव्वहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. पहट or पगट *manifest,* see § 102; E. H. पगास् *clearness,* Ap. Pr. पगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. पगासै *he displays,* Ap. Pr. पगासइ or पगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. पसन् *pleased,* Ap. Pr. पसण्णु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. पहोह *leathern waterbucket,* Ap. Pr. पव्वहउ or पव्वाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै *he praises,* Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सराहन् *praise,* Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सरेस् *glue* (lit. *adhesion*), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سریش *sirish?*); E. H. मलान् *faded,* Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् *verse,* Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106.

Ls. 183); E. H. परोजनं *necessity,* पराग् *Allahabad,* पराचित् *penance,* see § 144.

Note: In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise.*

186. इ *is interpolated; sometimes;* thus E. H. तिरपन् *fifty three,* Ap. Pr. *त्रिपण्णं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three,* Ap. Pr. *त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad,* see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse,* Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen,* Pr. *पिलहिआ, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue,* Pr. *गिल्लाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman,* Ap. Pr. *त्रिआ, Skr. स्त्रिका.

Note: In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love;* Pr. सिरी (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity;* Pr. किरिआ (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath;* Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble,* see § 58, note.

187. उ *is interpolated; rarely;* thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection,* Ap. Pr. सुमरणु (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. *The first consonant is elided; always;* thus E. H. भीतर् *within* for ब्भीतर्, A. Mg. ब्भिंतरं (§ 172), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीजै, काढै, कंगा, कंगिया, for ब्भीजै, क्काढै, क्कंगा, क्कंगिया, see § 172; E. H. छमा *forgiveness* for *च्छमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. छाहै *he desires* for *च्छाहै, see § 173.

Exception. य् remains, as E. H. ग्यान् *knowledge,* Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *khaṛi bhásha* optionally also र् following a cons., as प्रगट् or परगट् *manifest,* § 185.

Note: In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काओ or धाओ for *क्काओ or ठाओ (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वजः; Pr. छमा or खमा for *च्छमा or *क्खमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives छमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgivenes;* but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठाणं or थाणं for *ट्ठाणं or *त्थाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally क्क्; as क्काणा° (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्यान°; or झूसित्रा (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अध्यूषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided;* only ह्; thus E. H. नाऊ *barber*, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or *स्नापिकः).

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for *पहेहो (not for *स्नेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. नेह् *love, oil;* Pr. निठं (H. C. 2, 109) for *पिह्ठं, Skr. स्निग्धम्, E. H. *deest.*

190. अ *or* इ *is prefixed to* स् *preceding any consonant; only in semitats;* thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति *praise*, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्नान् *bathing*, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. अस्नेह् *love*, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. इस्त्री *woman*, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् *school*; E. H. इस्पंज् *sponge*; etc.

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् *restless* for Skr. चपलः

191. ज्ञ् *and* ज्ञ् *become* ङ्ञ् *and* ग्य्; only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. ज्ञ् becomes ञ्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् *sage*, Pr. ञाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative.* The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा *board*, आगि and अगिया *fire*, चाम् and चमड़ा *leather*, मीठ् and मिठका *sweet*, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary.* The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा *eat*, खाऊ or खानिहार् *eater, glutton;* हँस् *laugh*, हँसी *laughter;* बढ़् *grow*, बढ़ती *growth*, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढ़ा *old*, बुढ़ापन् *old age;* हलुक् *light*, हलुकई *lightness;* बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगाली *a man of Bengal;* मेङ्ढ़ *ram*, मेङ्ढी *ewe;* etc.

Note: The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 163). — In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *krt* and the secondary *taddhita.* The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the taddhita class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhátus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix आवि (Pr. आवि or आव, E. H. आव् or आ) and nominal bases (called *prátipádikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. अ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) krit or taddhita suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. ति, but E. H. बढ़ति of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्चता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उचाई from base उचअ and suff. इआ (= उचक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. *as suffixes;* though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in tatsamas) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कम् (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or अ and 2) उ

-or र् or ल् or न्. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

First Group.

195. Set. Masculine.

1. आ, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्कु, इक्कु, उक्कु.
3. अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवाँ, इवाँ, उवाँ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
6. ओवा, इयवा[1]), उअवा[1]); or ओवाँ, इयवाँ[1]), उअवाँ[1]).

Feminine.

1. ई, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्कु, इक्कु, उक्कु.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयाँ, इयाँ, उवाँ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or अक्किया, इक्किय, उक्किया.
6. इयवा[1]), इयवा[1]), उअवा[1]); or इयवाँ[1]), इयवाँ[1]), उअवाँ[1]).

Note: Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and ओ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उआ, इया or इआ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms;* those without the suff. their *weak forms.* The suff. आ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. साँच् or साँचा *true;* f. साँच् or साँची; or m. मीठ् or मीठा *sweet,* f. मीठ् or मीठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

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1) Sometimes pronounced ईवा, ऊवा or ईवाँ, ऊवाँ; contracted like ओवा for *अवा § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर् *house* (not घरा), f. बात् *event* (not बाती); m. घोरा (or घोडा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर्); but m. पर् or परा *board*, f. भेड् or भेडी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and उ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गर्ु *heavy*, हल् *light, slow* (not भारि, गरु, हलु). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand आगि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not आगी, मुनी, गुरू). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानी *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इउँ (*com. gen.*) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भरिउँ *heavy*. The form in इउँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. आ, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क् are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठ्का or मिठक्का, f. मिठ्की or मिठक्की, of मीठ् *sweet;* छोट्का, छोठ्की or छोटक्का, छोटक्की, of छोट् *small;* भरिका, भरिकी or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of *भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक् or हलुक्क् (gen. com.) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of *हलु (only in the strong form हल् § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक् or तनिका *small*, of *तनु (see § 61); रुचिक् *small*. As to the forms in अकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

Exception. There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिकुक् *beggar* beside भिकू; बालक् (or बालका) *child* beside बाल् and बाला; छोकरा *boy*, छोकरी *girl* beside छोरा, छोरी, from *छोक्° or

*छो° (= Skr. प्राव°, Pr. छाव° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका *boy* (H. H. लड़का), बैठिका or बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

Note: The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *miṭhákkā*, भरिक्का *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halúkkī;* but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क् *hálukk*, हलुका *hálukā*, छोट्‌की *chhŏṭ'kī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इया (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. इया and उवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर् or घरवा *house;* f. बात् or बतिया *event;* m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरवा *horse;* f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरिया *mare;* m. माली (wk. f. माल्लि) or मलिया *gardener;* f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुवा *sand;* f. आगि or अगिया *fire;* m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक् or हलुकवा *light;* f. हलुक् or हलुकिया; m. छोट्‌का (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोट्‌कवा *small;* f. छोटक्की (wk. f. छोटक्क्) or छोटक्किया.

Note: Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उआ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इया. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इयवा (or ईवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इयवा and उअवा (or ऊवा) to subst. in इ and उ respectively. Thus m. घर् or घरौवा *house;* f. बात् or बतियवा (or बतीवा) *event;* m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर्) or घोरौवा *horse;* f. घोरी (wk. f. *घोर्) or घोरियवा *mare;* m. माली (wk. f. *माल्लि) or मलियवा (or मलीवा) *gardener;* f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुअवा (or बलूवा) *sand;* f. आगि or अगियवा *fire;* m. गुरु or गुरुअवा *teacher.* The suff. औवा and उअवा may be con-

tracted to ঔ; e. g., ঘোরৌবা or ঘোরৌ; ঝলুঅবা or ঝলৌ. The suff. ঔবা may be also contracted into অউ; as ঘোরৌবা or ঘোরউ.

Note: The contracted suff. ঔ always takes the accent; as ঘোরৌ *ghŏraú*, not *ghórau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of আ, ঈ and ঊ; in N. and W. Gd. of ও (or ঔ), ঈ and ঊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) আ, এ, ও contracted for E. H. অবা, ইয়া, উআ; as B. রামা, E. H. রমবা *Rám;* B. হরে, E. H. হরিয়া *Harí;* B. শংভো, E. H. সংভুআ *Sambhú;* (f.) B. ঈ contracted for E. H. ইয়া; as B. রাধী, E. H. রধিয়া *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies [1]). See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) অয়া for E. H. অবা and (f.) ঈ for E. H. ইয়া; as M. রাম্যা (for রামন্যা cf. § 6, note), E. H. রমবা *Rám;* Mg. দুর্গী, E. H. দুর্গিয়া *Durgá*. See my V[th] Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has অয়া, ঐয়া, অই, ঐ for E. H. অবা, ওবা, অউ, ও of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. কন্হয়া, কন্হৈয়া, কন্হই, কন্হৈ *krishna* [2]);

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1) E. g., sometimes ই migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. কাশৈ or কেশৈ for E. H. কসিয়া *kási* (abbreviated for *káśináth*).

2) By way of illustration compare তলৈয়া *pond* = Mg. তলাযযে = Skr. তডাকক: of তডাক, with কন্হৈয়া = Mg. কপহ্যযে = Skr. *কৃষ্ণাকক: of কৃষ্ণা.

गड्डिया, गड्डैया, गड्डई, गड्डै *pit;* etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बड्ढवा *calf,* कंउवा or कडुवा *bitter;* etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रकः *little son,* but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes अ, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क्, but even to prolong the preceding vowel [1]), thus making the suff. आक, ईक, ऊक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431) [2]). In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding आ and compensates it by doubling क्; viz. in हउक्के *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for *हउाके, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितअकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हिअयअं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it अअ (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430) [3]) or in Mg. कअ or आकअ,

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1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलअ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 के दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् ॥ i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long". The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउसाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुअयं, E. H. बहुअवा.

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ईकञ, ऊकञ. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अ, इ, उ by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, ऊकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अञए, इञए, उञए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, ऊ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting य् or व् § 69) into अवा, इया, उवा[1]); the result being the 1st and 4th E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इउँ, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इउं. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2nd set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3d and 5th sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. ओवा (contracted for *अव-वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इअवा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उववा or contr. ऊवा § 84, exc.) by inserting य् or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6th set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोडए or (gen.) घोडआह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोडा or घोड-वा; Skr. *घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोडअआह्, E. H. घोडौवा (for *घोडववा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्ठए or मिट्ठके or मिट्ठाके, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क; Skr. *मिष्टककः, Mg. मिट्ठकए or मिट्ठाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इआ and उआ = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इया and उवा; 2) Pr. *अकी, *इकी, *उकी[2]) or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिआ, इकिआ, उकिआ or आकिआ, ईकिआ, ऊकिआ = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. *इञआ, *उञआ[3]), (= *इकका, *उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उअवा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

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1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटी or मटिया; Skr. *मृत्तिकका, Mg. मट्टिअआ, E. H. मटियवा; or Skr. मिष्टा or मिष्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्ठा or मिट्ठिआ, E. H. मीठ् or मीठो or मिठिया; Skr. *मिष्टकी, Mg. मिट्ठकी or मिट्ठाकी, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्कू; Skr. *मिष्टकिका, Mg. मिट्ठकिआ or मिट्ठाकिआ, E. H. मिठकी or मिठक्कू or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृश्), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in अ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the अ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into अ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the अ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, ऊ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, इए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, को (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अए, इए, उए, in their contracted Gd. forms आ, ई, ऊ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly व् and व् were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इया, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

Second Group.

206.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अह्	अहा	अही
2.	आह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. आ, ई of the 1st set 1st group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गउह् or गड्ह् *fort*, from गउ *enclosure;* अहा in गउहा (or गड्हा), from गाउ or 'गआ *cavity;* m. बउहा, f. °ही, from बउ or m. बउरा, f. °री *mad* (W. H. बावल् or बावला); m.

मिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also मिरकुटहा), from मरकट् *monkey* (?); again आह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) अए (i. e. अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अहे); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अही, In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आकी, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आहं, आही). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गड्डके or गड्डए, E. H. गडह् or गड्ड; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. वउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलअए, E. H. वउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. वउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घट्टिअए, Skr. घट्टितकः.

Third Group.

209.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	अर् or अड्	अरा or अडा	अरी or अडी
	b.	— —	अरँ or अडँ	अरँ or अडँ
2)		एर् or एड्	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
3)		ओर् or ओड्	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
4)		अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5)	a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
	b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
	c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6)	a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
	b.	ऊल् or ऊर्	ऊला or ऊरा	ऊली or ऊरी
	c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7)	a.	अन्	अना	अनी
	b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with ड् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1st set 1st group are strong. The forms अर्~ or अऊ, contracted from Ap. Pr. अउउ = *अउकः, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठऊ or गठा, f. °री, of गाठ् (or गठा) *bundle;* चमरा, of चाम् *leather;* चीकऊ (or कीचऊ), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 133); खब्बोऊ, of खब्बू *glutton;* टुकरा, f. °री, of टूक् (Skr. स्तोक) *piece;* पटरा, f. °री, of पट (or पटा) *board;* पलंगरा, f. °री, of पलंग् *bedstead;* बछरा, f. °री or m. f. बछर्~ *calf, colt,* of बछ् (or बछा) *young;* भूखऊ, of भूख् (or भूखा) *hungry;* भुलकऊ, of भूलक् *forgetful;* मोटरा, of मोठ् *bundle;* मेहरार्~, of मेहऊ *woman;* etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकरा *a hundred,* of *सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्क, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket,* of *टोक्; थोऊ or थोरा, f. °री *little,* of *थो (Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक, cf. § 97); छोकरा or छौरा *boy* and छोकरी or छौरी *girl,* of *छोक् or *छौ (see § 198 exc.); छेरा, f. छेरी *goat,* of *छे (Mg. छाय, Skr. छाग); अगारी *front,* of *आगा (Skr. अग्र); पछारी *back,* of *पाछा (Skr. पश्च); पहाऊ *mountain* and पहारा, *multiplication-table,* of *पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended,* see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बछेरा *colt,* बछेरी *filly,* of बछ् (or बछा) *young;* घनेऊ or घनेरा, f. °री, of घन् *much;* गडोरा, of गाड् (or गडा) *pit.*

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोठ् (or मोटा) *fat;* जेठरा, f. °री, of जेठ् (or जेठा) *eldest;* रसरा, f. °री, of *रस्स् or रस्सा *cord;* मुहरा *vanguard,* मुहरी *cuff, bore of a gun,* of मुह् *mouth;* हथल् or हथरी, of हाथ् or हथा *handle;* सुतला or सुतरा, f. °री *string,* of सूत् *thread;* परला, f. °ली, of पारूँ *beyond;* etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former,* of *आग (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother,* of M. माऊ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5th set in पतील् or पतीला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan;* खपरेल्, of खपऊ (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोऊ *peacock;* सपेला, of साप् *snake;* अधेला, of आध् *one half;* पइला, of पाय् *a quarter;*

अकेला or इकेला, of एक् *one, solitary.* The 6th set in सपोला, of साप् *snake;* कंकरोला, of ककरू (or ककरी) *gourd;* बतोला, of बात् *talk;* बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute,* of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer,* of बाँक् *fop;* etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost,* of आग् (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मकोला *middle,* of *माक् (Skr. मध्य); पछिल् or °ला *last,* of *पाछ् (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind,* तइसन् *of that kind;* कइसन् *of which kind,* जइसन् *of which kind,* of *अइस्, *तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; एतना, f. °नी *this much,* ओतना, f. °नी *that much;* तेतना, f. °नी *so much;* केतना, f. °नी *how much;* जेतना, f. °नी *as much,* of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी *own,* of *आप् (Skr. आत्मीय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी *he, that;* कवन्, f. कउनी *who;* जवन्, f. जउनी *which,* of *तेव्, *केव्, *जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: छौना, f. छौनी *young of an animal,* from *छौ, see § 210; थुथना, f. °नी, of थोथ् *mouth of an animal;* जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple,* see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बछ् or बछा is *any young animal,* but बछरा is a *calf* or *colt* and बछेरा a *colt;* मकेली or मकोली a *kind of carriage of middling size;* मिठरी a *particular kind of sweetmeat;* etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a *peachick;* सपोला a *young snake;* अँखरी a *wink,* lit. a small आँख् or *eye.* Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा *a certain jewel of copper color* (lit. *like* ताम् or *copper*); लालरी *a false stone resembling a* लाल् or *ruby;* पातुर् or पतुरा *thin, weak,* lit. *like a* पात् or *leaf.* Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll,* lit. *a little* or *like a* पूत् *son;* चीलर् or चीलहर् *louse,* lit. *a small* or *like a* चील् *hawk.* — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुकरी, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतीली, सुतली, रसरी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठ्या *large bundle*, गठ्री *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always ऐरो for ऐलो; M. has sometimes ळू for डू (§ 217), and S. sometimes डू for लू, as in लिखंदडु *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or डु to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. ऐला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिह्यो *part.* and लिह्योडो *adj.*, N. लिह्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिह्याको *adj. written.*

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. अडे, f. अडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. अ added, m. अडए, f. अडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. अड़ or अड़ and m. अडा or अड़ा, f. अडी or अड़ी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठड़; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठड़ा; Mg. गंठडिआ, E. H. गठड़ी. 2) The same, with the pleon. अ added to the base of the word, m. अअडे, f. अअडी and m. अअडए, f. अअडिआ. These, by inserting य् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एड़ or एड़ and m. एडा or एड़ा, f. एंडी or एड़ी; or by inserting व् (§ 69) and contracting अव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओड़ or ओड़ and m. ओडा or ओड़ा, f. ओडी or ओड़ी; e. g., Ap. Mg. घणाअडे or घणायडे, E. H. घनेड़; Ap. Mg. वच्छअडए or वच्छयडए, E. H. बछेड़ा; Ap. Mg. वच्छअडिआ or वच्छयडिआ, E. H. बछेड़ी; again Ap. Mg. गडुअडए or गडुवडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोड़ा. 3) Mg. m. अल्ल or अले, f. अल्ली or अली or, with pleon. अ added, m. अल्लए or अलए, f. अल्लिआ

or अलिआ. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवल्ले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एक्कल्लए (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एक्कल्लिआ, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पीअलए *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधलए *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्तलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्तल् or पत्तर्; Mg. विज्जुलिआ *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विद्युत्), E. H. बिजुली or बिजुरी; Ap. Mg. अगलए *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लए or इलए, f. इल्लिआ or इलिआ. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मज्झिल्लए or मज्झिलए *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मज्झिल्लिआ or मज्झिलिआ, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरो; Mg. f. तेत्तिलिआ, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्तिल्लअं or पतिलअं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतीला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लए or उलए, f. उल्लिआ or उलिआ. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or ऊल् or उल्, and m. ओला or ऊला or उला, f. ओली or ऊली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मज्झुल्लए *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मज्झुल्लिआ, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुल्लअं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्थुल्लिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. हथुरी or हथरी; Mg. अप्पुल्ले (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेत्तुलए (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. णाए, f. णिआ, n. णाअं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पणाए (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पणिआ, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पणाअं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for *अप्पुणाअं = अप्पुल्लअं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

(or ल्ल), as in E. H. ज्ञामुन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्ल, इल and उल्ल, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अयल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of य् and व्, from अअल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. अल. The latter (अल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अउ, through the common interchange of उ् and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. विज्जुडी *lightning* for Pr. विज्जुली [1]). As to the origin of अउ, see § 218. Of the change of अउ to अउ, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहरं or दीहं *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दोर् *a long while ago;* Pr. बाहिरं or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर्, m. बाहिरा, f. °री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= ऱ्, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल and र (i. e. ऽ), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्कडो or कक्कडओ, E. H. केँकर् or केँकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. उ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or उटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हनेटा *young brâhman* = Pr. बम्हण + विट्टओ (*brâhman's son*); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has ओटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृश *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृशम् (lit: *इयादृश = इयत् + दृश); and in

1). Thus: Skr. मध्यक° (or मध्यम°), Mg. *मज्झअडे = *मज्झअले = *मज्झयले = *मज्झेले = मज्झिल्ले or मज्झिले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as ओ or उ; e. g., in एवडो or एवडु (H. C. 4,407) = Skr. *एवादृशः (from Ved. ईवत् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms ओ and उ are, evidently, contractions for *उहो and उहु resp., where ऽ would easily arise from the Skr. दृ (just as Pr. डिसो from Skr. दृश् H. C. 2, 36. 37) and °अह्° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्थे *here* = Ap. इत्तहे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. ओ and उ, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial ऽ would be (as usual) liable to change to ज् or झ्, ल् or ळ्, and न्. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. उ or ल may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms ढा, ढी (for डा, डी), which have preserved the original ह् of the Ap. Pr. *हहो, *हही, as in M. तेवढा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवडु.

2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

First Group.

220. Set. 1. Fem. अई. Set. 2. Fem. आई.

Both, containing the suff. ई of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus अई, in हलुक्कई *lightness*, of हलुक्क *light*; ढंढई *coldness*, of ढंढ *cold*; सधुअई *simplicity*, of सधुआ *simple*; भरियई *heaviness*, of भरिया *heavy*; etc. Again आई, in भलाई *goodness*, of भला *good*; बडाई *greatness*, of बडा *great*; मिठाई *sweetness*, of मीठा *sweet*; गोलाई *roundness*, of गोला *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindí (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in आ, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in ऊ. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in अया, and अया is vocalized to इआ (cf. § 121); thus बडा *great*, lg. f. बडया, whence बडिआई *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Bs. II, 79). The आ in such forms is anomalous for अ, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous आ; but E. H. has regularly अ; e. g., W. H. गहुआइ, but E. H. गहुअई *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds आई to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. ता; as H. H. कोमलताई *comeliness*; योग्यताई or ज़ोगताई *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddhita ता (fem.), in Pr. दा or आ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. क superadded, it is Skr. तिका, Pr. दिआ or इआ or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अइआ, and Gd. अई (§ 51). And with pleon. अ (= क) added to the base we have Pr. अअइआ, contracted in Gd. आई. Thus Skr. मिष्टता or *मिष्टतिका, Pr. मिट्ठइआ, E. H. मिठई; and Skr. *मिष्टकतिका, Pr. मिट्ठअइआ, E. H. मिठाई; again Skr. *साधुकतिका, Pr. साधुअइआ, E. H. सधुअई; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अड्ढाई *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अड्ढअड्ढा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. अर्धतृतीया.

Second Group.

224. Set. 1. Masc. आउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of ऊँचा *high;* गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep;* ओंडाउ or ओंडाव् or ओंडान् *depth*, of ओंडा *deep;* चौराउ or चौराव् or चौरान् *breadth, width*, of चौरा (H. H. चौड़ा) *broad, wide;* लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

Note: There are also the ordinary forms in आई (§ 229); as ऊँचाई, गहिराई, लमाई, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. पी, पणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. त्ता or neut. त्तं for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आइणि for आणि, the former of which, probably, stands for अयानि and is to be explained like the P. इआई for आई, see § 222. In S. the suff. आनि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as अक्काणि *whiteness*, कण्हाणि *blackness*, वड्डाणि *greatness;* etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) त्तं or त्तणं (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अत्तं or अत्तणं or (eliding त्त, see § 153) अअं or अअणं (see Spt. A. 52. वअस्सअत्तणा = Skr. वयस्यकत्वेन) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अअणु (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to आउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form অণ্ণু contracts to H. আন্. E. g., Skr. उच्चकत्वम् *height*, Pr. उच्चअत्तं or उच्चअत्तं, Ap. उच्चअउ, E. H. ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव्; again Skr. *उच्चत्वनम्, Pr. उच्चत्तणं or उच्चअणं, Ap. उच्चअणु, E. H. ऊँचान्. S. has, apparently, preserved the त् in मुखितणु[1]) *duty of a* मुखी *headman* (Tr. 61), but not in चोकिराटु *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of चोकरं and वटु (Ap. for Skr. वृत्तम्).

Third Group.

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a. प्पा	b. प् or पा	—
	2) a. प्पन्	b. पन् or पना	पनी

The suff. in आ and ई are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with प्प् are added to weak, those with प् to strong bases; but पना, पनी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms प्पन् or पन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus प् in बुड्ढाप् *old age*, of बूढा *old;* प्पा or पा in बुड्ढापा *old age*, छोटप्पा or छोटापा *smallness*, of छोरू or छोटा *small;* मोटप्पा or मोटापा *fatness*, of मोरूं or मोटा *fat;* रंडप्पा *widowhood*, of रंडुं *widow;* etc.; प्पन् or पन् in बड्डप्पन् or बड्डापन् *greatness* (cf H. C. 4, 437), of बड्डू or बड्डा *great;* सुधापन् *simplicity*, of सूधा *simple;* गरुप्पन् or गरूपन् *heaviness*, of *गरु or गरू *heavy;* बालकपन् *childhood*, of बालक् *child*, etc.; पना or पनी in छोटप्पना *smallness;* लुच्चप्पना or लुच्चप्पनी *profligacy*, of लुच्च् *profligate;* ज्ञानप्पनी *knowingness, knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing;* पाज्ञीपना *profligacy*, of पाज्ञी *profligate*, etc.

Note: Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुज्जलापन् *itching*, from खुज्जलाव् *to itch;* but in reality it is added to the noun *खुज्जला (cf. M. खाजरा Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुज्जलो.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

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1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. णणु (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. मुखितणु scl. वटु.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. प fem., पो m.; पाई f., पी f., पणु m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पणुँ n. (Ed. 14); P. पा m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्कपुणा *business of a* उचक्का *pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पाना; O. has पण् m., पणिआ f. (e. g., भाँउपणिआ *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or आमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भाँडामि *roguery*, ढिलामि *laziness* of ढीला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) प्पं or प्पणं (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. अ added, प्पअं or प्पणअं. The Ap. प्पं and प्पअं become in E. H. प् and पा or प respectively; and the Ap. प्पणं and प्पणअं become E. H. पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृद्धत्वम्, Ap. वुड्ढप्पं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुड्ढाप्; Skr. *वृद्धत्वकं, Ap. बुड्ढप्पअं, E. H. बुड्ढपा or बुड्ढापा; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. वुड्ढप्पणं, E. H. बुड्ढपन् or बुड्ढापन्; Skr. *वृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. वुड्ढप्पणअं, E. H. बुड्ढापना or बुड्ढापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लअ = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

Fourth Group.

232.	Set.	Com. gen.	Fem.
	1)	वंत् or वत्	वंती or वती
	2)	मंत् or मत्	मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth;* भागवंत् or °वत् *faithful*, of भाग् *faith;* सोगवंत् or °वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow;* पुनवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue;* ज़यवंत् or वत् *victorious*, of ज़य् *victory;* मानवंत् or °वत् *proud*, of मान् *pride;* भागवंत् or °वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मंत् or मत् in सिरिमंत् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent*, of सिरि *excellence;* हनुमंत् or °मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw;* भत्तिमंत् or °मत् *devoted*, of भत्ति *devotion;* पुनमंत् or °मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue;* etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवंती *wealthiness*, of धनवंत् *wealthy*; सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gḍs. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भागवती *the goddess Gaudi*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सीलवानु, f. सीलवानी, E. H. m. f. सीलवंत् or °वत्; H. H. m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवती *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gḍs.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वंत and मंत (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वंते and मंते, f. वंती and मंती; in E. H. m. f. वंत् and मंत् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. त्र added, in Mg. f. वंतित्रा and मंतित्रा, E. H. वंती and मंती or वती and मती (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धणावंते, E. H. धनवंत् or °वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धणावंती, E. H. धनवंत् or °वती; again Skr. f. *धनवतिका, Mg. धणावंतित्रा, E. H. धनवंती or °वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वंतो, f. वंती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मंतो, मंती.

Fifth Group.

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. आइन् (§ 82). Masc. अइआ or ऐआ. Fem. अइती or ऐती (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus ढलाइन् *shield-bearer*, ढलइती or ढलैती *office of sh.*°, from ढाल् *shield*; बरछाइन् *spearsman*, of बरछा *spear*; कउखाइन् *warrior-bard*, of कउखा *war-song*; लिंगाइन् *a ling-worshipper*, of लिंगे *phallus*; चरचाइन् *talker*, of चरचा *talk*; नताइन् *kinsman*, of नाता *kin*; कराइन् or करइआ or करैआ *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of करा or काला *black*; उकाइन् *robber* and उकइती or उकैती *profession of robbery*, of उाका *robbery*; बहुताइन् (fem.) *abundance*, of बहुत् *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. एतो, f. एती (for *अइतो, *अइती) added to weak bases, as पुट्टेतो *having a son*, of पुट्ठु son (base पुट्ठ, Skr. पुत्र); and 2) m. आइतो, f. आइती added to strong bases, as वाराइतो *opportune*, of वारो *time* (base वारा = वारक, Skr. वारक). P. has occasionally the form ऐँन् or ऐँदू (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals इंत or इत्त are mentioned in close connection with वंत and मंत. The latter, incl. of the final अ of the base, would be अवंत and अमंत or (eliding व् and म्) अव्वंत, or (inserting य्, § 69) अयंत, or (vocalizing य्, § 121) अइंत, or (again detaching the अ of the base) इंत. Thus Pr. माणइंतो or माणइत्तो *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = माणयंतो = माणव्वंतो, माणवंतो = Skr. मानवान्. With pleon. अ added to the suff., they are Pr. m. अइत्तओ, f. अइत्तिआ; S. m. एतो, f. एती. Or with pleon. अ added to the base, Pr. m. अव्वइत्तो, f. अव्वइत्ती, E. H. m. or f. आइन्; and with pleon. अ added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. अव्वइत्तओ, f. अव्वइत्तिआ; S. m. आइतो, f. आइती; E. H. m. अइआ or ऐआ, f. अइती or ऐती. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चड्डाइत् or चड्डइता or चड्डैता *rider, trooper*, दंगाइत् or f. दंगइती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अक्कडाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चड्ड *mount*, दँग् *quarrel*, अक्कड् *strut;* viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चड्डाव्, दँगाव्, अक्कडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवेंतो or आवंतो. The latter would change to आअंतो, आयंतो, आइंतो or आइत्तो, and in Gd. आइत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइंतो *angry* and पाणाइंतो *alive*, end in आइंतो with long *á*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वइत्तो *poëtical* and माणाइत्तो *proud*, indeed, end in अइत्तो with *ă*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव to अव, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

Sixth Group.

241.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	आल् or आर्	आला or आरा	आली or आरी
2)	आलु or आरु	आलू or आरू	आलू or आरू

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possesional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोँदाल् or तोँदार् or m. °रा, f. °री *pot-bellied*, of तोँदु *belly;* रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice;* पखाल् f. or पखारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पास् *side;* रेताला *sandy*, of रेत् *sand;* दुधार् or दधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk* (M. दुधालू), etc. Again the 2nd set in दयालु or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दया) *mercy;* लज्जालु or लज्जालू *bashful*, of लाज् *shame;* perhaps also कगड़ालू *quarrelsome* of कगड़ा *quarrel;* but see §§ 308. 312.

Note: In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेह्रू or मेहरारू *woman;* घड़ी or घड़िया f. or घड़ियाल् or घड़ियार् m. *clock, gong.* In others, where the suff. exists only with रू, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हारू *acquaintance,* etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a ra़le, ऊ, sometimes ऊ; thus केसाऊ or केसाऊ *hairy,* खेऊऊ *frolicsome,* see Man. 114. G. also has ऊ; as रेताऊ or रेताऊ *sandy,* S. has ल् or ऊ, like E. H., and sometimes ऊ (Tr. 66. 69); as धणारू *herdsman,* ज्वालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley;* साजाऊ *right-handed.* P. has ऊ or ल्; as उन्नाऊा *woollen,* कसाला *distressed;* see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल and आलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. आले, f. आली and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आऊ or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E. g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसाल् or रसाऊ; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुड्डाला or °लो, E. H. दुधाल or °ऊ; Skr. *तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोंदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोंदारा; f. Skr. *तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोंदलिआ, E. H. तोंदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E. g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयालु or °ऊ; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लजालू or °ऊ. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश *like;* see § 251.

Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अइल् or अइऊ	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी
	2)	इल् or इऊ	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
	3)	अउल् or अउऊ	औला or औरा	औली or औरी
	4)	उल् or उऊ	उला or उरा	उली or उरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others ऱ्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1st set in ट्ंगइल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of ट्ंगा *quarrel;* गंठैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गाँठ् *knot;* पनैला, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water;* पथऱ्इल् m. or f., or पथरैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पथऱ् *stone;* उँकैला *having a sting*, of उाँक् *sting;* खपऱ्इल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile;* बोकइल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load;* दुधइल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk;* etc. Again the 2nd set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत् *sand;* बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load;* etc. Again the 3d set in पथउऱ् m. or f., or पथौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पथऱ् *stone;* उँकउऱ् m. or f., or उँकौरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उाँक् *sting;* ऱसउऱ् m. or f., or ऱसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of ऱस् *juice;* घमौरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth;* बकौला *hood* and बकौली *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend;* etc. Again the 4th set in पातुऱ् *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing;* पातुऱ् or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel;* पातुऱ् *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf;* बाउऱ् or बउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला), of बाय् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occassionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood;* घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घऱ् *house;* कखौरी or क़खौली *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit.*

247. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or ऊ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ऊ, and S. often ऱ् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or ईलौ, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एऊा or ईऊा, G. एऊो or ईऊो, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इऊ (Tr. 67). The interchange of ऱ् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँठीला, W. H. गँठीलो *knotty;* W. H. घमोली, M. घमोळी *prickly heat;* H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy;* etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base; अइल्ल and अउल्ल or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्लअ, अइल्लअ, उल्लअ, अउल्लअ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regulary arise. Thus E. H. पथरइल् = A. Mg. पत्थलइल्ले; E. H. पथरैला = A. Mg. पत्थरइल्लए; E. H. पथरउर = A. Mg. पत्थलउल्ले; E. H. पथरौरा = A. Mg. पथलउल्लए; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पत्तुलिआ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with *one* ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty;* उल् or ऊल in बातुल or बातूल *gouty;* ओल in गपडोला *raw sugar,* etc. The Pr. taddh. इर (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल्ल (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इड़ (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर, except as an alternative of इल. — As to the origin of the suff. इल्ल and उल्ल (probably from Skr. दृश), see § 251.

Eighth Group.

249.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a.	एर or एड़	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
b.		एरं or एड़ं	एरं or एड़ं
2) a.	ओर or ओड़	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
b.	और or औड़	औरा or औडा	औरी or औडी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with ड़ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेडा *snake-catcher,* of साप् *snake;* कटेरा *palings,* of काँटा *thorn;* पखेरू *bird,* of पाख् *wing.* The second set in लरकोरा or लडकोडा *parents,* of लरिका *child;* पखोरा *shoulder-blade,* of पाख् *side;* हथोरा or हथौरा *hammer,* of हाथ् *handle;* करोरा *tax-gatherer,* of कर *tax,* etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इड़्यो (Tr. 70) and M. याड़्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेरिड़्यो *walker,* of पेर or पैर *foot,* वाटाड़्या *guide,* of वाट *way.* — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or ह् or ड्; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलु or आलू, M. आळ् or आळू, S. आड or M. आड; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐड, M. ऐळा; E. H. औला, औडा, W. H. ओला or ओडा, M. ओळा. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृश, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृशक: would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहउ, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms ड्यो and ड्या would arise, as contained in S. ड्यो and M. आड्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एड, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृश *like* would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively, prickly, sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

Ninth Group.

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form ईया (see § 199). Thus, 1st set in संगी or संघती *friend, companion*, of संग् or संघत् *companionship;* वारी or कुनही *enemy*, of वार् or कुनह् *enmity;* बकवादी or बतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद् or बतोला *talk;* सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness;* दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain;* धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth;* तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil;* माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland;* धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing;* हथौटी or हथौटिया *craftsman*, of हथौटी *handicraft;* बहेलिया *huntsman*, of बाह् *shooting;* गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

a Hindú of हिन्दू *Hindú;* मराठी *bel. to a Maráṭhá* of मराठा *Maráṭhá* (man or country); अंग्रजी *English* of अंग्रेज़ *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2nd set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाखा *Bangáli language;* बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman;* but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*, बहिरिनि or बहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country.*

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. अ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मरहट्ठिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. ईय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. ईय would be Mg. ईए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी
3) „ आइन् or आइनी „ 4) „ — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final ऊ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú.*

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus डंगरी *hillock*, of डाँगर् *hill;* बनी *copse*, of बन् *wood;* बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बाँस् *bamboo;* गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball;* डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope;* चोली

bodice, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful;* रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवार् *guardian;* ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत् *shieldbearer;* चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हार् *an acquaintance;* पढ़निहारी *reading* or *readership*, of पढ़निहार् or °रा *reader;* etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.; साँची *true*, of m. साँचा; बाँकी *crooked*, of m. बाँका; मीठी *sweet*, of m. मीठा; भूखी *hungry*, of m. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of m. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., छोरी or छोकरी or लरिकी *girl*, of छोरा or छोकरा or लरिका *boy;* बेटी *daughter*, of बेटा *son;* काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle;* नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather;* बकरी or छेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or छेरा *he-goat;* घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse;* भेड़ी *ewe*, of भेड़ा *ram;* कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock;* etc. Occassionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of *सोनारा or सोनार् m.; चमारी f. *leather-worker*, of *चमारा or चमार् m.; कोँहारी, f. *potter*, of *कोहारा or कोँहार् m.; कहारी, f. *porter*, of *कहारा or कहार् m.; सुतारी, f. *carpenter*, of *सुतारा or सुतार् m.

Note: In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्तिया fem., of कुत्ता *dog;* डिब्बिया *small box*, of डिब्बा *box*, बुढ़िया *old woman*, of बूढ़ा *old man;* but the short forms कुत्ती, डिब्बी, बूढ़ी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or °रिनी f. *goldsmith*, of सोनार् m.; चमारिनि or °रिनी f. *leather-worker*, of चमार् m.; गोवालिनि or गुव्° or ग्° f. *cowherd*, of गोवाल् m.; घटवालिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवाल् m., etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी f. *moth*, of पातुर् m.; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघ् *tiger;* सोँघिनि or सिँघिनी *lioness*, of सोँघ् *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or °सिनी f. *neighbour*, of परोसी m.; बैरागिनि or °गिनी f. *ascetic*, of बैरागी; मालिनि or °नी f. *gardener*, of माली m.; धोबिनि or °नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी m.; कोढ़िनि or °नी f. *leper*, of कोढ़ी, etc. Or animals; हाथिनि or हथिनी f. *elephant*, of हाथी m. Again in ऊ; नउइनि or नउइनी f. *barber*, of

नाऊ m.; पहरुइनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहरू, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पँड़ाइन् or °नी *wife of a* पँड़ा *a kind of brâhman*; चौबाइन् *woman of the* चौबे *caste*; दुबाइन् *woman of the* दूबे (m.) *caste*; ठकुराइन् *lady* of ठाकुर् *lord, chief*; चौधराइन् *wife of a* चौधरी *headman*; पंडियाइन् *wife of a* पंडा *priest*; गुरुआइन् *wife of a* गुरु *teacher*; पंडिताइन् *wife of a* पंडित् *scholar*; बनियाइन् *woman of the* बनिया *trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a* पुरोहित् *family priest*.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन् *wife of a* मेहतर् (pers. مهتر) *sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a* साईस् (arab. سايس) *groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a* सेठ् *merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिणि or सेठिणी or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a* कोरी *weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोळीण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has ण् or अण्, as कोळण् or कोळेण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोब्रण् or धोब्रेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or आनी, as बाघिनी, धोब्रानी, कामारनी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1st set, 1st group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. *deest* (*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. अ added, Skr. मालिकः

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिए, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिआ, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form *माल् or *मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनाऱ् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or °रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोणआलिआ, Skr. सुवर्णाकारिका fem. of सुवर्णाकारकः pleon. for °कारः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोणआलिणी or °लिणिआ = Skr. सुवर्णाकारिणी or (pleon.) °रिणिका, fem. of सुवर्णाकारी (base °कारिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनाऱ्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनाऱ् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोणआले, Skr. सुवर्णाकारः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as बाघिनि *tigress* from m. बाघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चोआइन् it arises from Pr. चउब्बेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँजाइन् and पंडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पाँजा, पंडिया, Mg. पंडिआए, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्राणी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्सी *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्सा, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्सा formed from the E. H. fem. रस्सी (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अव्. Masc. आ or अवाँ. Fem. अईं.

The form अव् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचव्,

m. पचा or पचवाँ, f. पचईं *fifth*, of पंच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसईं *tenth*, of दस् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहईं *twelfth*, of बारह् *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तीनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवाँ *sixth*, of छ *six*; बीसा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ई (S. Ch. 195); M. अवा, f. अवी, n. अवें or (from 19th) आवा, आवी, आवें (Man. 42. 44); H. H. अवाँ, f. अवीं; W. H. अवौं, f. अवी; P. अवाँ or अमाँ, f. अवीं or अमीं (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमी, n. अमुँ (Ed. 48); S. ओ, f. ईं; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचईं; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवी, n. पाँचवें, but विसावा, f. विसावी, n. विसावें *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवौं, f. पाँचवी; P. पंजवाँ or पंजमाँ, f. पंजवीं or पंजमीं; G. पांचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुँ; S. पंजो, f. पंजी.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final अ of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमए, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अवँए, f. अविँआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवाँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अईं (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचमए or पंचवँए, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचविँआ, E. H. पचईं. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतिमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. वीसइअमए (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. *विंशकमकः, Mg. *वीसअमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth*; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gḍs. in चौथवाँ, छठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीसा, etc.

Improper Suffixes.

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोँहारू *potter* of *कोँहू (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुंभ्); कँहारू *porter*, of *कँहू (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध्); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of *रोदू (Skr. रोद्); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आहट्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

Twelfth Group.

268. Com. gen. स् or सऱ्. Masc. सऱा. Fem. सऱी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दूसऱ्, m. दुसऱा, f. °ऱी *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ् *two*; m. f. तीसऱ्, m. तिसऱा, f. °ऱी *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन् *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसऱी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दूज्ञौ or दूज्ञो; P. दूज्ञा or दूआ = Pr. दुइज्ञओ or दुइअओ (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. बीओ or बीज्ञो, G. बीज्ञो, Pr. विइअओ (H. C. 1, 94) or वीअओ (H. C. 1, 248) or विइज्ञओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीज्ञो or तीज्ञो, P. तीआ or तीज्ञा, S. ट्रीओ or ट्रीज्ञो, G. तीज्ञो, = Pr. तइअओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइज्ञओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दूसऱा, तीसऱा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृतः *moved*, in A. Mg. सलिए or सलिअ, which in Gd. becomes सऱ् by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of ऱ् (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सऱा is = A. Mg. सलिअए, Skr. सृतकः; and f. सऱी = A. Mg. सलिइआ, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. *द्विस्सृतः (i. e., द्विः + सृत), A. Mg. दूसलिए, E. H. दूसऱ्.

Thirteenth Group.

272.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अऱ् or ऱ्	अऱा or ऱा	अऱी or ऱीं
	2)	आऱ्	आऱा	आऱी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमार् or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. *of us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोँहार् or m. तोँहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. *of you*), of तोँह् *you*; m. f. मोर् or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of *मो *I*; m. f. तोर् or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of *तो *thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवार् or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गाँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हार् or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. *of a mark, marked*), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखार् *beggar*, of भीख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियार् *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes कर्, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix कर् still exists in the M. गाँवकर् *villager* (Man. 113), खोउकर् (H. खोञ्जिल्) *mischievous*, of खोउ् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकर् *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अर्, आर्, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घरर् *domestic* or *of a house*, of घर् *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवार् *villager*.

Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आर्	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी
	3)	कार्	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something". They are of a limited number. Thus the 1st set in सोनार्, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोँहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्भ् *pot*; कहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधार् or अंधियार् or अंधारा, f. °री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of अंधा *dark*. The 2nd set in पुजारी, f. पुजारिनि or °रिनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3d set in छुटकार् or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of छुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation.* The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार् or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °री, Mg. कुंभाल्ले or °ली or कुंभाले or °लीं, E. H. कोंहार् (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजाआलिए, E. H. पुजारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gḍs. As to the fem., see § 259.

Fifteenth Group.

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ् *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर् *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. की *wild*, of बन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gḍ. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठु; वेंढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेंढि (Tr. 91); again Konkaní ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे *there* (Man. 113); again G. णो in S. चोराणो *thievish*, of चोहु *thief*, or बातूणो *oral*, of बातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार् *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a* पाटिल् *village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिउका *paternal*, of पिउ *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a* हारी *peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खाजरा *itch-producing*, of खाज् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोठु is not गोठे but गोठु; similarly of वेड़ि it is not वेड़ी, but वेड़ि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in ऊपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अव or उव, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेपण् *goodness*, of भला + पण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आसा	आसी

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything", and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous", from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. °सी *sleepy*, of नींद् *sleep*; उँघास् *sleepiness*, °सा m., °सी f. *sleepy*, of ऊँघ् *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d°*, of मूत् *urin*; हगास् *desire to stool*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d°*, of हग् *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, °सा m., °सी f. *lascivious*, of चोद् *copulation*; पेटास् *gluttony*, of पेट् *belly*; कटासा m., °सो f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काट् *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोआस् f. *inclination to weep*, रोआसा m., °सी f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire* or *tendency to be sweet*), of मीठ् *sweet*; ऊँचास् f. *height*, of ऊँच् *high*; जुड़ास् *coldness*, of जुड़ (H. H. जुड़) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वाँस् or वाँछ् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वाँसा or वाँछा *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवाँसा *libidinous*. In

the suff., व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to आ. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निद्दवंछा, E. H. निँदास्; Skr. रोद्‌वाञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवंछए or लोअअंछए, E. H. रोआसा. The change of छ् to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun आशा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पियासा m., °सी f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियासू). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखी f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

284.

Set.	Fem.	Fem.
1)	आहट् or आवट्	औटी
2)	आवत्	औती

The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीठ् *sweet;* गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गरम् (Pers. گرم) *warm;* खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure;* तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter;* चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth;* रुखाहट् *roughness*, of रूख् *rough;* कडुआहट् *bitterness*, of कडुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the* चमार् *caste;* बपौती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father;* सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सगा *kin, related* (= Skr. सगर्भ *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); हिनौती *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute;* हथौटी *handicraft, dexterity*, of हाथ् *hand.*

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms आउ or आतु (or अतु) or आठो (probably for *आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराउ *boyhood*, of चोकरु; डिअणयातु *debtor*, of डिअणी *debt*; भर्यतु *porter*, of भरी *load*; पाणयाठो *damp*, of पाणी *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to ईट् (= *आयट्) as in रागीट् *angry*, of राग् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत्त neut., and वार्त्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टी or वट्टं (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्तं (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टी or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटी, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and औटी (contracted for अवटी or अउटी, cf. § 78, for आवटी, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or औती. Thus Skr. *सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चअवट्टी or सच्चअवट्टिआ, E.H. सचावट् or सचौटी; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or °वार्त्ता, Pr. चम्मआरअवट्टी or °वत्ता, E. H. चमरावट् or °वत् (for *चमारावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. आउ arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्: — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आतु, M. अवट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टो or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुबरौता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर + वृत्तकः *living in gobar* or *cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or °वत् (fem.) *claycy soil*, there is probably an exchange of म् and व्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी माटी. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and *vice versa*.

Eighteenth Group.

289. Com. gen. सू. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form सू is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness". Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे॑ *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पैसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an anná*, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. *like the páda* or *quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water;* m. ऐकसा, f. °सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one.*

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से॑ or, less curtailed, com. gen. सर्; e. g., काऊसर्, c. g. *blackish*, of काऊ *black*; m. लहानसा, f. °सी, n. °से॑ *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सो, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. ऊँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91) [1]). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine;* मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a paṇḍit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथी ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as छोट् ऐक् (usually spelled छोटेक्) or छोट् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोर् ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत् ऐसन् *rather many.*

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1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. प्रास् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन्, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111. 458). Skr. सदृशः becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिए (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिहे, with ह् as in तेहूहं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = *तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृशः). The latter becomes in Gḍ. *सरिश, *सरि, whence M. सऱ् or, by eliding ऱ् (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृशः, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशकः = A. Mg. सरिसए or Ap. Mg. *सइअए, contracted *सइआ or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिआ, Ap. *सइइआ, E. H. contracted *सइई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भया or भइआ *been* = Mg. भविअए, Skr. भूतः; E. H. गा or गया or गइआ, Ap. Mg. गइअए, Skr. गतः; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइअउ, Skr. कृतः, see § 307; E. H. स् or सऱ् = A. Mg. सरिए, Skr. सृतः (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten.*

Nineteenth Group.

293. Com. gen. वाऱ् or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.
Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवाऱ् or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घटवाऱ् or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट् *landing-place*; नाओवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाओ *boat*; m. कपडावारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बकसवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar.*

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gḍ., but W. Gḍ., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उआला, f. उआली; e. g., B. टूपिउआला *holding or wearing a* टूपि *cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gḍ. they are very commonly used: S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वाळो m., वाळी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाळो, टोपीवाळो.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवाऱ् or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

First Group.

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

Note: Observe, in adding these suff., that य् is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो *be*.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढत् *reading*, of R. पढ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as करिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of करि + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. *अंत् (only in the obl. f. अंते, Sn. 28); H. H. m. अता, f. अती; W. H. m. अतु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or ईंदो, f. अंदी or ईंदी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अती, n. अतुँ (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अत् or m. अता, f. अती, n. अते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अंतो or अंत् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., करु *doing*, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अत् (or अन्त); in Pr. अंत (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Śr. Pr. अंद् (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अंत, f. अंती (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अंतए, f. अंतिआ; and E. H. m. f. अत् or m. अता, f. अती (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंत, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसंत्; E. H. हसत्; again Skr. *हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. *हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसंतिआ, E. H. हसती. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अंद्ओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अतु (or अंतु) by the elision of त्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात् is = Mg. खंते or खाअंते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देंते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = *दयंते, Skr. ददत् (or *ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवंते or भवंते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

Second Group.

302.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	इल् or अल्	—	इलि or अलि	इला or अला	इली or अली
2)	इअ or इ	अ	इ	आ	ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल° are peculiar to the Maithilí and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswári in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

Note: Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that य्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither य् nor व् is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् *read*, of R. पढ़ *read*; पीयल् or पीइल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअल् or चूवल् or चूइल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअल् or रोवल् or रोइल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. अलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यौं *I laughed*, of हसिअ + उँ; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसी f. *laughed*; पढ़ा m., पढ़ी f. *read*; खाया m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

Note: This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. कर् *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किअ° or किहि° or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धर् *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धअ° or धिहि° or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मर् *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुअल् or 2) मुअ° or मुइ° or Bs. मुआ; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गअ° or गइ° or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भअ° or भइ° or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिहल् or 2) दिअ° or दिहि° or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिहल् or 2) लिअ° or लिहि° or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आव् *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आअ° or आइ° or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पाव् *obtain*, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाअ° or पाइ° or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gḍs., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इअ (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. आ m., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला m., अली or इली f., अले or इले n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोडिला or सोडला = E. H. छोडल् or छोडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय् (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इव् (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव् (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. आ m., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. यौ or यो m., ई f.; in P., st. f. इआ m., ई f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. यो m., ई f., युं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इओ or यो m., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or ए or इ, or st. f. यो m., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtú* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृतः); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= *कृितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= *कृितकः, O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

Note: Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or ञो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. ञो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पढलेला, G. पढेलो, S. पढिअलु or पढिअञो, Mw. पढ्योञो or पढोञो, N. पढ्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पढला, G. पढ्यो, S. पढिओ, Mw. पढ्यो, N. पढ्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr: (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gḍ. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिट्ठा or डिट्ठा *seen* (Pr. दिट्ठो, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. दीठो *seen*, पेठो *entered* (Pr. पइट्ठो, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिठो *seen*, पेठो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लद्धो H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50. — The suff. इत becomes in Pr. either इट् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इअ which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिउ H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिओ; Ap. धल्लिउ H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इतव्य = Ap. इएव्व H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इट् further changes in E. and S. Gḍ. to इल् and अल् (§ 109). The only instances of this change of ट् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कटे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गटे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मटे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*[1]) and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Ṣábarí[2]) and Avantí, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gḍ.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इअ. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इटे, f. इटा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इटए, f. इटिआ; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that ट् first changed to ड् and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कटे, गटे, मटे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that ट् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral ड्, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Ṣábarí (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or अल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or अला, f. इली or अली. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इइआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इआं or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिय् or चलिव्[1]), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिअ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउं (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चल्यों. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिएँ. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिदए; E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिओ or चल्यो, W. H. चल्यौ or चल्यो, S. चलिओ or चल्यो, G. and N. चल्यो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for *खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for *खया = *खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाल्ला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाधो (for *खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायौ or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (*α*) लब्धः or (*β*) लब्धकः, Pr. (*α*) लद्धो (H. C. 3, 134) or (*β*) लडओ, S. (*β*) लधो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) *लभितः or (b) *लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for *लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) ल्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइआ or लिआ (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form *लइतए or *लहितए, or made after दिन्ना *given*, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिद्दउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for *लइदो) or लीधो (contr. like काधो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गब्भिणो = Pr. *गब्भिदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. अपिउँतयं = Pr. *अद्दिउन्नयं = Skr. अतिमुक्तकम्) or (d) लेवो (for *लइओ) or Br. (d) लयौ or लियौ, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (α) हितः (for *धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (α) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हिअउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gḍ. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. *दधितः, Mg. (a) *दहिदे or (b) *दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) *दहिए or (d) *दहिअए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for *दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिन्ना (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) *दहिद्दउ or (d) *दहिअउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयौ or दियौ, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gḍ. *deest*; or Skr. *धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलिअए, E. H. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिद्दउ or (d) धरिअउ, W. H. (d) धर्यो or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिओ or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (α) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (α) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किअउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किओ (Tr. 277); again Skr. *करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिअए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कइल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह, for *किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. करँ or (d) करा, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) करा (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for *कइला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for *कया = कइया, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गिया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for *कइतए, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करिदउ or (d) करिअउ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कइअउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कीदो or कीधो or कीनो or कीन्हो (formed like लीदो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यौ or कियो (for *कयौ = कइओ, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for *कइओ, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (*α*) गतः or (*β*) गतकः, Mg. (*α*) गदे or गडे or (*β*) गदए or गडए, O. (*α*) गल् or (*β*) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) *गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिअए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = *गमिअयाए = *गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376, see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गइल् or (b) गइला or (c) गइ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गइआ, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गिया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गइआ), P. गइआ or गिआ (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिअउ or गइअउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयौ or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हूओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gḍ. *deest*; or Skr. *भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविअ° = परिभूत°) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविअए or (l) हविअए or (m) हुविअए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुइआ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुइआ), E. H. (a) भइल् or (d) भइला or (g) भइ or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हौं (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for *हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भया (= भइआ) or contr. भा, B. (b) हइल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हइया (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होइल् or (f) होइला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ् (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for *काला or *हइ्ला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइ्आ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइ्आ (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविअउ or (l) हविअउ or (m) हुविअउ, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for *भव्यौ) or भयौ (= भइ्औ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भयो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. ह्वियो (suppressing अ between हवि°) or ह्वीयो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइ्ओ) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होयो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुओ (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भयो (= भइ्ओ), Km. (m) हुइ्ओ (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयो (Kl. 236). — 8) R: मृ *die*; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (*a*) मदे् or (*β*) मए् (Wb. Bh. 156) or (*γ*) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुओ (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्; or Skr. *मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिदे् or (b) मुलिदे् or (c) मलिद्ए् or (d) मुलिद्ए् or (e) मलिए् or (f) मुलिए् or (g) मलिअए् or (h) मुलिअए्, Ap. (f) मुइअ (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = ऱ्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुआ (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मरि or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुआ, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for *मइ्ला), H. H. (h) मुआ (for मुइ्आ, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिअउ or (h) मुरिअउ or contr. मुअउ (H. C. 4, 442, for *मुइअउ, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यौ or मर्यो or (h) मुऔ or मुओ (for *मुइ्औ), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मर्यो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् *come* and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) *obtain*; Skr. आप्नः or प्राप्नः, Pr. अन्नो or पन्नो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. *decst*; or Skr. *आपितः or *प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे् or (b) आविद्ए् or (c) आविए् (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविअ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविअए्, E. H. (a) आइ्ल् or (b) अइ्ला or (c) आइ् or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइ्ल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)[1]), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for *आइ्ला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइ्आ), P. (d) आइ्आ; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइ्ओ = आविओ?), W. H. (d) आयौ or आयो (for आइ्ओ), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आसिल°, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविश् *enter* (आ + विश्).

Third Group.

308.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	इब् or अब्	* इआ or * अआ	इबि or अबि
2)	आब् or आव्	आवा	अवाई or आई or आवट्
3)	अब्बू or आबू	—	—
4)	अवइया or अइया	—	—
5)	अवारू or अवालू	अवारा or अयाला	अवारी or अवाली
6)	आरू or आलू	—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इबे or अबे or (by elision of ब्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

Note: Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो *be*, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for *the "it is to be done" of a thing* is equal to *the "doing" of a thing.* Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होब् *to be*, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at* or *to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढब् or पढिब् *what is to be read* or *to read*, of R. पढ् *read*; करब् or करिब् *what is to be done* or *to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छूअब् or छूहब् or छूइब् *what is to be touched* or *to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; बोअब् or बोवब् or बोइब् *what is to be sown* or *to sow*, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten* or *to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done* or *to cause to do*, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk* or *to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt* or *to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible* or *to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से ऊ करब् बाटै *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैँ करबोँ (= करब + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as करबिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for करबि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form *nouns of act.* Thus अवाई *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जवाई *going*, of R. जा *go*; खवाई *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाई or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूक् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाई or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; डोलाव् or डोलाई or डोलावट् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; लराइ or लरावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लड् *fight*; चलाब् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखवाई or रखाई *wages for keeping*, of R. रख् *keep*; कटवाई *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाइ or बनाई or बनावट् *making* or *price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखवाई or लिखाई *wages for writing* or *dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवाई, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाबू or खब्बू *glutton* or खवइया or खवैया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; डराबू or डरब्बू or डरालू or डरवाला or डरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. डर *fear*; रखवारू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख् *keep*; कगडारू or कगडालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कगड *quarrel*; छवइया *thatcher*, of R. छा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढवइया *rider*, of R. चढ *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख् *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन् *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव् *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities.* The first and second sets occur in all Gḍs. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.[1]). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of ब्) contr. आ (as "gerund or verbal noun", S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इबे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौँ or अबौ or इबौँ or इबौ or Mw. अबोँ or अबो or इबोँ or इबो (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबो, f. अबी, n. अबुँ, and forms the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोउबो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबुँ neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., छोउबुँ *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., छडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ऊँ, a strong form, contr. for इउँ = इबूँ (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund" (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in इआ m., ई f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ *to loose* (for *सोडिउँ = Mw. झोडिबो, G. झोडवुं)[1]). — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवें neut. (called "supine" in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. अबे) or (by eliding व्) contr. आया (= E. H. ए, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी f., आवें n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा *I may be loosed* (lit. *I am to be loosed*), or म्यां सोडावा *I may loose him* (lit. *by me he may be loosed* or *by me he is to be loosed*); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5th and 6th sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or °ला, f. °ली; कागडाल्. The 5th set occurs in M. as अवाड् or अवाळ् (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाळू *pitiful*, of R. कन्ह् *moan*); and in G. as अवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., झोडवानो *he shall deliver*, of R. झोड् Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे झोडवानो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*. The sixth set occurs in M. as आड् or आळ् (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेळाड् *frolicsome*, of R. खेल् *play*; खाजाळू *itching*, of R. खाज् *itch*); in S. as आरो or आर् (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारो or धोरार् *pedlar*, of R. धोर् *seek*; पीजारो *cotton-carder*, of R. पिज् *card*).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एअव्वं or इअव्वं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. *एव्वं or एवं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्वं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इब् or अब्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel ऊ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in ऊण = Pr. एऊण or इऊण, Skr. *इत्वानम्.

with the pleon. अ added, Skr. इतव्यकम्, Pr. एअव्वंअं or इअव्वअं, Ap. Sr. (a) एव्वउं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= *एव्वए or *एव्वअं, cf. § 54), W. Gḍ. (a) इबौँ or अबौँ or E. Gḍ. (b) इबा or अबा or S. Gḍ. (b) आवेँ (= *एव्वअं). Thus Skr. कर्त्तव्यम् (or *करितव्यम्), Pr. करेअव्वं or करिअव्वं, Ap. *करेव्वं or करिव्वं or करेवं, E. H. करिब्, or करब्; again Skr. कर्त्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेअव्वअं or करिअव्वअं, Ap. (a) *करेवअं or (b) करेव्वउं or (c) करेवा; Gḍ. (a) M. करावेँ, (b) W. H. करिबौँ, (c) O. करिबा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एव्वउं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवाई is a comp. of the suff. अब् or आव् + suff. आई of § 220; and the suff. अवइया a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. एया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवारू or अवारा a comp. of suff. आव + pleon. suff. अरू or अरा (§ 209); and the suff. आवट् a comp. of suff. आव + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवाई) or त्वम् (or fem. *त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इतव्यता or °त्वम् = Mg. इअव्वआ or Ap. *एव्वडा, E. H. आवट्; the change of न् to ड् (as in पडणं for पतन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. आवर् or आहट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वट्टा. — Again the suff. आई, अइया and आरू (or आलू) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवाई, अवइया and अवारा (or अवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. आया for आवया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. आ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gḍs., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. एया and अरा = Ap. Pr. अअअ (= अकके) and अउअ, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gḍ., to क् or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रक्खेव्वअउउ (Skr. रक्षितव्यः), W. H. रखआलौ or E. H. °रा; Ap. खेल्लेव्वअउउ, M. *खेल्लवाडू or contr. खेलाडू. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gḍ. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. तव्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated"; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective", *operativus, contemplativus, negativus,* etc.

Fourth Group.

315.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अन्	अना	अनी
2)	आवन् or आन्	अउना or औना	अउनी or औनी
3)	अनिहार्	अनिहारा	अनिहारी
4)	—	अनेवारा or °ला	अनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gḍs., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt,* of R. दे *give*; लेन् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt,* of R. ले *take,* as in the phrase लेन् देन् *intercourse, traffic*; बाजन् or बजना *what is to be played, a musical instrument,* of R. बज् *be played*; ओढना or ओढनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet,* of R. ओढ् *put on, wear*; बिछावन् or बिछउना or बिछौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes,* of R. बिछ् or बिछाव् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् *play*; भराउना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load,* of R. भराव् *load*; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) *what is to be said, a story,* of R. कह् *speak*; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी *what is to be put on, garments,* of R. पहिर् *put on*; छउनी or छौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. छा *thatch*; पढ़न् or पढ़नी *what is to be read, spell, charm,* of R. पढ़् *read.* Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार् or m. °रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. °री *what is to be, possible, future,* and अनहोना *impossible,* of R. हो (but होनेहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार्, m. °रा *one who is going to do or a doer,* of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पढ़निहार् or m. पढ़निहारा or पढ़नेवारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली *one who is going to read, a reader,* of R. पढ़् *read*; m. f. देनिहार् or m. °रा or m. देनेवाला or °रा, f. °ला or °री *one who is going to give, a giver,* of R. दे *give,* etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. °नी *jester,* of R. हँस् *laugh*; डरउना or डरौना, f. °नी *coward, timid,* of R. डर् *fear*; सुहउना or सुहौना, f. °नी *pleasing,* of R. सुहाव् *please*; घिनउना or घिनौना, f. °नी *disgusting,* of R. घिनाव् *nauseate*; पहिरउनी or पहिरौनी *a tire-woman,* of C. R. पहिराव् *attire.* The fem. in अनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in आन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen,* of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors,* of R. कतर् *cut*; सुननी *sense of hearing,* of R. सुन् *hear,* etc.; and masc. उठान् *area, court,* of R. उठ् *rise*; बकान् *place for ensnaring,* of R. बाक् or बकाव् *ensnare*; ठिकान् *halting-place,* of R. ठिक् *halt.*

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech,* of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing,* of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking,* of R. ले *take*; करन् or करनी [1]) *action,* of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी [1]) *existence, living,* of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी [1]) *occur-*

1) Also करतब्, रहतब्, होतब् or होनिहार्, which are clearly part.

rence, accidence, of R. हो *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice,* of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect,* of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; बज्ञनी *dispute,* of R. बज्ञ् *fight*; लिखनी *writing,* of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction,* of R. सिखाव् *teach,* etc. Especially the suff. आन्; as उड़ान् *flying,* of R. उड़् *fly*; कुदान् *leaping,* of R. कूद् *leap*; चढ़ान् *ascent, riding,* of R. चढ़ *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement,* of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session,* of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding,* of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure,* of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation,* of R. सींच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising,* of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance,* of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लड़ान् *fighting,* of R. लड़् *fight,* etc.

Note: उड़ान् *flying,* etc. may be also उड़ाव्, उड़ाई, उड़ावट्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1st and 2nd sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन no longer exists as such in Gḍ., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage,* दान् *giving,* मान् *respect,* गवन् or गमन् *going,* बधावन् *presents,* etc., whose roots *पा, *दा, *मा, *गम्, *वर्धाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gḍs.; but those of the 4th set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gḍ. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gḍ., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अनवारो or अनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in Ġ. it is contr. to अनार् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अणारॅं or अणारा (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

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fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gḍs. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनौँ or अनौ in Br. and अनोँ or अनो in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अणेँ (called "gerund" in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन or अनि or आन् or आनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or आण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनौ, f. अनी, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणी or इणी (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनीय, which in Pr. becomes अणीअ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणिअ (as in पाणीअ or पाणिअ *water* = Skr. पानीय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अणअ (or अणाय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणिअ or अणअ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उअ or अउ or अउअ, arise the forms अणअउ or अणअउअ, which become अणाउ or अनाउ or अणारा or अनारो in M. and G.; and the form अणअअउअ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनवारो, W. H. अनवालो; and the forms अणिअअउ or अणिअअउअ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहाउ or अनिहारा. The simple Ap. form अणअ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणहं, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनौँ or अनौ; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणहिं (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनै or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणअ) and अनीय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनीय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वाला or वाऱा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

Fifth Group.

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुकत् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बसती *dwelling, village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर् *fill*; चऱती *rising, gain*, of R. चऱ् *rise*; बऱती *increase*, of R. बऱ् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in अऱत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. *अऱ्; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. *बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; कुटौती *release*, of R. कुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are ऊत् and अवती; in G. ओती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समजुती, M. समजूत; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आपि or, with pleon. क added, आपिका; and in Pr. अन्नी or अत्तिआ, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विज्ञापिका, Mg. विन्नत्तिआ, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. *वर्धापिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वड्ढत्तिआ, E. H. बऱती; or Skr. *अर्धापिः (of R. ऋध्), Mg. अड्ढत्ती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)[1]), E. H. अऱत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. आउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आअड्ढ for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct ण्, the forms Pr. श्रावती or श्रावतिआ, E. H. श्रावत् or श्रौती might arise; thus Skr. *मनाप्निका, Mg. *मणावतिआ, E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

Sixth Group.

326. Com. gen. अ. Masc. आ. Fem. ई.

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् *sight*, of R. सूक् *see;* लथेड् f. *draggling* (W. H. लथेड्), of R. लथेड् *draggle;* चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. *a slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap;* खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play;* चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk;* पकड् f. *seizure* (W. H. पकड्), of R. पकड् *seize;* हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh;* दउड् f. or दउडा m. or दउडी f. *running, race*, of R. दउड् *run;* रगड् f. or रगडा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगड् *rub;* फेर् m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर् *turn;* दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press;* बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak;* पछताव् m. or पछतावा m. *repentance*, of R. पछताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ, and m. औ or ओ, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. अ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल्, of R. भुल्; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेरु m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः, f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. आ,

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व्याप्; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives श्राम्रडु; thus H. C. श्राम्रेडुइं, T. V. श्राम्रडुइ. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. ऋध्.

and m. अए, f. इआ; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. आ, f. ई (cf. §§ 47–51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेल्ले or खेल्ला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल्; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिआ, E. H. हँस् or हँसी, etc.

Seventh Group.

330. Com. gen. ऊ or आऊ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in आव् take the suff. आऊ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, ऊ is added to आव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus ऊ in खाऊ *eater, glutton,* of R. खा; उचाटू *vexatious,* of R. उचाट् *vex*; मारू *fighter, beater,* of R. मार् *beat;* मूँडू *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड् *shave;* काटू *cutter, biter,* of R. काट् *cut, bite;* कारू *sweeper, broom,* of R. कार् *sweep* (W. H. काड्); जागू *vigilant,* of R. जाग् *wake;* बिगाडू *spoiler,* of R. बिगाड् *spoil,* etc. Again आऊ; in कगडाऊ *quarrelsome,* of R. कगड् *quarrel;* उडाऊ *spendthrift,* of R. उडाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाऊ *laborer, bread-winner,* of R. कमाव् *labor, earn;* टिकाऊ *stationary,* of R. टिक् *stop;* बिकाऊ *saleable,* of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाऊ *coaxer, tempter,* of R. फुसलाव् *coax.* Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँकू or डाकू *robber,* of R. *डाँक् *bite* or *overpower.*

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have ऊ and आऊ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater,* काडु *broom,* etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final ऊ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोवउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तृ or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. ऊ or ओ (= *तुः or

*तुकः), W. Gḍ. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्त्रा *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भत्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gḍ. *deest* (E. H. has भताऱ्, Pr. भत्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिऊ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भाऊ or भाउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाऊ or भराउ or भराऊ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाऊ. Similarly Skr. दंष्टृकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. डक्कुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 डक्को = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. डक्कुउ, W. Gḍ. डाकू *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gḍ. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gḍ. उ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाऊ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. माह or W. H. माऱ्, etc. — The suff. आऊ contains the caus. or denom. suff. आप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gḍ. कमाऊ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus बइठक् f. or बइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तडक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तडका *daybreak*, of R. *तड् or तडक् (W. H. तडक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. *कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. *ख्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink,* of R. *कप् *be quick* (Skr. अध्यर्प् ?); कटक् f. or °का m. *twitch,* of R. *कट् *be quick* (Skr. अध्यट् ?); फउक् f. *palpitation,* फउकी *partition, screen,* of R. फाड् *split;* फाटक् m. *gate,* of R. फाट् *split;* सउक् f. *road,* of R. सट् *join* ?, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes,* of R. चर् *graze;* चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever,* चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move;* दउड़ाक् m. or f. *runner, racer,* of R. दउड़ *run;* लराक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome,* of R. लर् (W. H. लड़) *fight;* उड़ाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged,* of R. उड़ *fly;* पइराक् *swimmer,* पैराकी *act or art of swimming,* of R. पइर् *swim,* etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs.; but the W. Gḍs. have final औ or ओ for E. Gḍ. आ; and S. has आकु or आकू for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् *doing,* of R. कृ *do*) meaning *doing, agent.* On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening,* E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्केरं or अम्हकेरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + केरं), पडिक्कूलं or पडिकूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुओ (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast,* i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gḍ. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उड्डापकः, Mg. उड्डावके or उड्डाअके, E. H. उड़ाक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindí grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. अब् or इब् (§ 308). Thus R. पढ़ from inf. पढ़ब् *to read;* R. बूझ् from inf. बूझब् *to know;* R. खा from inf. खाइब् or खाब् *to eat.* In some cases, however, a व् or य् must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइब् *to obtain* (for *पाविब § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयब् *to live;* R. चू from inf. चूवब् or चूअब् *to drip;* R. रो from inf. रोवब् or रोअब् *to weep,* etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3d pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or य्); thus R. पढ़, from पढ़ै *he reads;* R. बूझ्, from बूझै *he knows;* R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains;* R. खा, from खाय् *he eats;* R. जी, from जीयै *he lives;* R. चू, from चूऐ *he drips;* R. रो, from रोऐ or रोवै *he weeps.* Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पढ़ब् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पढ़ै *he reads,* both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पढिब्बं, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूझब् *to know,* it is only the 3. sg. बूझै *he knows,* which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बुज्झइ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूझब् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as *बुधितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूझब्, in fact, are purely Gḍ. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूझ्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gḍs. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses ड़् and ल्, where W. H. has ड़् and ल् (see §§ 29. 30); e. g., E. H. पड़् *fall*, W. H. पड़्; E. H. चड़् *walk*, W. H. चल्. Or E. H. has ह् where M. has स् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. हुड़् *be loosed*, होड़् *loose*, M. सुट्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् *learn*, M. शिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् *sit*, N. बस्, P. वह्, S. बिह (Skr. उपविश्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् *sleep* (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराव् *call*, W. H. पुकार्. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् *see*, M. पाह् *see*, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्, Skr. चल् *walk*; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् *be hot*; E. H. जान्, Skr. ज्ञा *know*; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ *do*; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् *sow*; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् *eat*; E. H. चू, Skr. श्युत् *leak*; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् *be angry* (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् *speak*; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् *rub*; E. H. तूड़् or टूड़्, Skr. त्रुट् *break* (§ 174); E. H. घस्, Skr. घर्ष् *rub*; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्श् *touch* (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिविष् *distribute* (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृश् *see*; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था *rise*; E. H. काँड़्, Skr. अपार्द् *sweep* (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् *forget*, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. छाह् *wish*, cf. Skr. उत्साह (§ 173); E. H. बइठ् *sit*, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पइठ् *enter*, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् *sleep*, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकाङ् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष्ट (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञताव् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञापु; E. H. पलट् or पलय् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पक्व; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. काँक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. ध्यां कृ; E. H. ओँक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. कऊक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्ट् कृ; E. H. धौँक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुमं कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix" into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class" of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. आपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix", they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3[d] sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाअइ or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खायँ. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल् *walk* for Pr. चल्, Skr. चल्; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix", see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू् *leak* for Pr. चु (चो), Skr. श्च्युत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्योतति, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोअइ, E. H. चूऐ; or E. H. परोस् *offer food* for Pr. परिवेस्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेषयति, Pr. परिवेसेइ or परिवेसइ, E. H. परोसै (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होए् *he is*; but the original भ् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. भीज् *moisten* for Skr. अभ्यार्द्र् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्द्नति, Pr. मलइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूट् or टूट् *break* for Pr. तुट्, Skr. त्रुट्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्प्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. छाह् *wish* for Pr. *उच्छाह्, see § 173; or E. H. काँड् *sweep* for Pr. अवकड्ड, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gḍ. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् *know* for Pr. जाण् and जा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IXth class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. जाणाइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाणाइ (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + अ + इ); E. H. ज्ञानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the Vth cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणाइ or चुणाइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + अ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णाच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. य् of the IVth cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47 = णच्च् + अ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general" tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gḍ. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gḍ. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as ज्ञाणिअं (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णायं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. ज्ञाणिऊण (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. ज्ञाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. *ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिइ or चिविहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. *चिनिष्यति or *चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चितु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. *चिन्व्यते or Pr. *चिणुईअइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुणइ (Spt. 46) or सुणाईअइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. *सुन्यते), but also regularly सुव्वइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. *श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. *सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णच्चाविअइं (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. *नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिअ (lit. *कर्य) or regularly कदुअ (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in अब् which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. ज्ञानब् *to know* for Skr. ज्ञातव्यम् (lit. *ज्ञानितव्यम्); E. H. नाचब् *to dance* for Skr. नर्तितव्यम् (lit. *नृत्यितव्यम्), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

Note: In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class"; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* य, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press,* but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed,* and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed,* Pr. चप्पइ, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gḍ. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चाल् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk,* as Skr. pass. चल्यते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लइ (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलइ H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सीच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिञ्चति), Pr. सिच्चइ (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचइ H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सींचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

Note: In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice" from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class".* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gḍ. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the Ist (incl. VIth) and the Xth (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VIth (or Ist) and the other to the Skr. Xth cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VIth [1]) (or occassionally Xth) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the Ist cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. अ of the VI^th^ (or X^th^) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the V^th^, न of the VII^th^, उ of the VIII^th^, ना of the IX^th^, य of the IV^th^), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, आ) into अ, the characteristic of the VI^th^ and X^th^ classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. अ of the VI^th^ class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the V^th^ cl., base चिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VI^th^ cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to अ, hence base चिण, 3. sg. pres. चिणइ (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the V^th^ cl., hence base प्राप्नु, 3. sg. pres. प्राप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ cl., by substituting the suff. अ of the VI^th^ for नु, hence base पाव, 3. sg. pres. पावइ (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ्ज् *break* is in Skr. of the VII^th^ cl., hence base भनज्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ, hence base भञ्ज, 3. sg. pres. भंजइ (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पीसेदि or पिंसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VII^th^ into the X^th^ cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIII^th^ cl., hence base करु, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ or I^st^ or X^th^ cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIII^th^ to अ, hence base °क्क (i. e., क्र) or कर or करे (i. e., कराय), 3. sg. pres. °क्कइ (as in खुक्कइ Spt. 173 = Skr. खूत्करोति) or करइ (Vr. 8, 13)

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to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI^th^ cl. The I^st^ differs from the VI^th^ cl. by *guṇating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI^th^ does not guṇate the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not guṇate the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिणइ, सुणइ, where if they were of the I^st^ cl., it should be चेणइ, सोणइ; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the guṇation of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भंजइ, पावइ. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gḍ.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेइ (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base जानना, 3. sg. pres. जानाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating ना and changing आ to अ, hence base जाणा or जाणो (i. e., जानय), 3. sg. pres. जाणाइ (Vr. 8, 23) or जाणेइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IXth cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेंह or गेंहे (i. e., गेंहय), 3. sg. pres. गेंहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेंहेदि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IVth cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating य, hence base णच्च or णच्चे, 3. sg. pres. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or णच्चेदि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence irregular base रोदि, 3. sg. pres. रोदिति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist cl., by substituting their suff. अ for the irreg. इ of the IInd cl., hence base रुद or रोद, 3. sg. pres. रुअइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोअइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base जाअ, 3. sg. pres. जाअइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाइ H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VIth and Xth, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VIth into the Xth; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the Xth into the VIth, through changing the Xth class-suff. ए into the VIth class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VIth cl. into the Xth; e. g., हसेइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेइ (H. C. 4, 337), for करइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चेइ (Dl. 50), for नच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the Xth cl. into the VIth; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दरिसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दरिसेइ, Skr. दर्शयति, from R. दृश् *see*; or करावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for कारावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ *do*; or हसावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् *laugh*; or भमावइ (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेइ (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gḍ. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VIth of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुणइ; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावइ; E. H. भंजै = Pr. भंजइ; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसइ or पिंसइ; E. H. करै = Pr. करइ; E. H. जानै = Pr. जाणइ; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेण्हइ; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नच्चइ; E. H. रोऐ = Pr. रोअइ; E. H. जाय् (W. H. जायै) = Pr. जाइ (or जाअइ); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसइ; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहइ; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतइ; E. H. करावै = Pr. करावइ; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावइ, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VIth class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा *go*. Thus E. H. पीयै *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form *पिअअइ or *पिअयइ, instead of the common Pr. पिअइ (H. C. 4, 10) or पियइ (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिबति, which would be in E. H. either *पीइ or *पियै; similarly E. H. चूऐ *it drips* = Pr. *चुअअइ, for the ordinary Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77).

Note: Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gḍ. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the Ist cl., तप, and also, but rarely, of the IVth cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्प). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवइ H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VIth cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the I^st cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मरइ, E. H. मरै). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice"*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI^th (or X^th), and in E. H. into the VI^th. Thus R. भञ्ज् *break* is in Skr. of the VII^th cl., hence base भनज्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भज्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भज्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भज् of the IV^th cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV^th cl.) suff. य, makes the root to be of the VI^th; hence base भज्ज, 3. sg. pres. भज्जइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भज्जंतस्स, Dl. 42 बिभज्ज). Again R. रुध् *hinder* is in Skr. of the VII^th cl., hence base रुणध्, 3. sg. pres. रुणद्धि; but in Pr. it is of the VI^th cl., by incorporating न and eliding its ध; hence base रुंध, 3. sg. pres. रुंधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुज्झइ (or रुब्भइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VI^th cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् *can* forms Pr. सक्कइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सक्कइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V^th cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सक्कणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 सक्कणोमि). Again R. लग् *belong* forms Pr. लग्गइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (I^st cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट्टइ् or फुडइ् (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिञ्चइ् (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंचइ् (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) सिञ्चति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्मइ् = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हणइ् (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्केइ् and विक्किणइ्, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. बिकै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्केइ्, by showing that the termin. एइ् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ईयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धेइ् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III^{d} cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देइ् (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेइ् *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. °ठेइ् or °थेइ् (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. स्थायति, of R. स्थै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्डेइ् *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उड्-डी, is the Skr. IVth cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. Ist cl. उड्डयते. All these last mentioned forms in एइ्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. Xth cl., which likewise ends in एइ्, as Pr. कहेइ् = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really Xth cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VIth cl. Just as कहेइ् may change to कहइ्, so देइ् to दइ् (Spt. 216), °ठेइ् to °ठइ् (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VIth cl. Thus E. H. बिकै = Pr. विक्कइ् or विक्केइ्; E. H. °है (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धइ् or °धेइ्; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचइ् or संचेइ्; E. H. उडै = Pr. उडइ् or उडेइ्; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय्) for Pr. देइ्. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सक्कइ्; E. H. लगै = Pr. लग्गइ्; E. H. फुटै = Pr. फुट्टइ्; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चल्लइ्; E. H. सोचै = Pr. सिचइ्.

Note: The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IVth cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IVth cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nâhyate he binds*, but pass. नह्यते *nahyáte he is bound*. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IVth cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VIth cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonástic suffix* आपि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. आपि (Pr. आवि, E. H. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ् or कारावेइ् *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or *कारापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with आपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so for as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. करावै *he causes to do*, not *कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मरावै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VIth cl. are occasionally transferred into the Xth cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. ग्रापि, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 सुणाउ perhaps contr. for सुणावउ or सुणावेउ); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. सुहावि = Skr. सुख् or *सुखापि (3. sg. सुहावेइ Spt. 169), E. H. सुहाव्. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., चुराव् *steal*, Pr. *चुरावि, Skr. चुर्; E. H. गरियाव् *abuse*, Pr. *गलिहावि, Skr. गल्ह्, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots.* In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. सर् *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. सृ, and E. H. सार् *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. सारि; or E. H. मर् *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. मृ, and E. H. मार् *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. मारि; E. H. बुड् *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. बुड् and E. H. बोड् *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. बोडि, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. ग्राव (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. निबाह् *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निर्वाह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निबह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वह्य or निर्वाह्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निव्वज्झ, and thence E. H. *निबझ्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. ण्हा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as कर् *do* is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संढ् or साढ् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. साँढ् or साढ्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gḍ. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gḍ.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhátupáthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in अ; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the Xth class, but occasionally also to the Ist. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VIth cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्ज् *scour*, from मार्ज *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृज् *scour*; or R. मार्ग् *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as माँज् and माँग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट् *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विञ् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट् *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेढ् and काढ् (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जम् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. *जन्मयति, Pr. जम्मेइ् or जम्मइ् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमै; again R. धार् or ढार् or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. *धारयति, Pr. धाडेइ् or धाउइ् (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसृति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलथ् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पल्लट्टइ् or पल्हत्थइ् (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलथै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पिष्ट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पिष् *beat* with suff. त; Skr. *पिष्टयति or पिट्टयति (?, Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पिट्टेइ् (Spt. 173 for *पिट्टेइ्) or पिट्टइ्, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X^th^ cl. आपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or *सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ् (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ्, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्त *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. *चित्तापयति, Pr. *चित्तावेइ् or *चित्तावइ्, E. H. चितावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes" must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gḍ. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ *do*. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb करब् *to do*; thus जमा करब् *to collect*, बंद् करब् *to shut*, बैल् करब् *to boil*, पास् करब् *to pass an examination*, मेल् करब् *to mix*, ध्यान् करब् *to meditate*, बिचार् करब् *to think* (for बिचारब्, as in English *to make answer* for *to answer*), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ *make low, degrade*, चिर् कृ *make long, delay*, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound* roots. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ *blow*, whence फुत्करोति *he blows*; this appears in Pr. as फुक्किइ or फुक्कइ and in E. H. as फूँकै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into *one* form, Pr. फुक्क्, E. H. फूँक् which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क् *bark* (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = ब्रू or वद् + कृ; धक्क् *destroy* = धक् + कृ or ध्वत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or ध्वस्); फक्क् *swell* = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क् *pain* = चृत् + कृ; टंक् *bind* = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination एइ, which is occasionally reduced to अइ. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केइ or कइ (as in खोक्केइ or खोक्कइ Spt. 173 = Skr. खुत्करोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form ग्रोढै which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उग्रढइ or उग्रढेइ; and in Skr. we find the form उपधियते which is both pass. and act. (VIth class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपधियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धरति, of the Ist class. Similarly the R. मृ *die* is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VIth class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense[1]); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the Ist cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ *do*. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VIth cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) करति, of the Ist class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (करइ) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केइ or कइ and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VIth cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VIth cl. म्रियते *mriyâte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. बहक् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out*, scl., *of the right path*) represents the Pr. बहिक्कइ or बहिक्केइ and Skr. बहिष्क्रियते; or E. H. उचकै, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उच्चक्कइ or उच्चक्केइ and Skr. (Vedic) उच्चाक्रियते, *he is carried on high*, etc. [1]). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindranee*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes तृ or अ; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष् *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. तृ, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. अ, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain* [2]). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial क् *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the क् is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्केइ or रुक्कइ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the II[nd] cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्कइ and by transfer into the X[th] cl. (§ 347) क्केइ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally आ is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उच्चाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उच्चक्केइ, E. H. उचकै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel आ rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was आ or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to अ.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्कइ or चुक्कइ *he ceases*; Skr. कषीक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्कइ or कसिक्कइ *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following इ (in क्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क्क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. रुक्कइ = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्कइ = E. H. चुकै (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्कइ = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक् *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. *चमक्कइ or *चमक्केइ, Skr. *चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do*, etc.

Note: Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्कू *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क्, Skr. न्यक्कृ *degrade* = नि-अंच्-कृ.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूम् *vex*, टेर् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टाँस् *cram*, ढो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तच् *be parched*, थिज् *be congealed*, तिहुड् or त्योड् or त्योड् *bend*, पज्झ् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुड् or पौड् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोह् *make bread* or *thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर् *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लद् *be laden*, लिउ or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोड *review*, हठ् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into: a) *denominative*; as गोहराव् *call*, हलग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as झाँक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ

(or ړ) or ړ; as ټهل् or ټهړ् *walk to and fro* (cf. N. ټهل् f. *service, drudgery*); ټهل् or ټهړ् *stop, remain* (cf. ټهړ् or ټاँव् *a place*); ټکेل् or धकेल् or धकोल् *shove* (cf. ټक्का or धक्का *a shove*); बहल् *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. बह् *flow*); भिसल् *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. भिस् H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्); कगड़् *quarrel*; लथड़् *be draggled* or लथेड़् *draggle*; लताड़् or लतेड़् (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. लात् or लत् *a kick* and लतड़् *an old shoe*); कपट् *spring* or कपेट् *attack suddenly* (cf. कप् *quick*); चपट् *be flattened* or चपेट् *flatten* (cf. R. चाप् or चाँप् *press* and N. चाप् *a bow*); ړपट् *slip* or ړपेट् *chase* (cf. ړापी or ړाँपी *an iron scraper* or *knife*); लपट् *adhere* or लपेट् *enclose, fold* (cf. N. लप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); घसट् or घसिट् or घसोट् *drag* (cf. R. घस् *rub*); बुकोट् *scratch* (cf. बुकट् or बुक्का *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gḍ., but introduced from W. Gḍ. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gḍ. there are causal roots in आल् or अला (W. H.), आउ or अवाउ (G.), आड़् or अड़ा (S.); e. g., W. H. बिठला or बिठाल् *cause to sit*, G. खवाउ् *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. ड़ियाड़् *cause to give*, वाड़ा *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gḍ. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gḍ.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd flow* (cf. E. H. बहल्), *matēd be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); *kēd be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd hear, blōsēd torment, puštēd ask* (cf. Skr. पृष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd swing, kṛ do* and *kēd be done*; just as in E. H. चाँप् and चपेट् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu[1]).

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kṛ do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. अल, इल, अउ, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वट् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वट्), of which the terminal ट् (or अट्, एट्, एड्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्ष) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. घर्षे वर्त्तते *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = *घर्षवर्त्तयति den. of *घर्षवर्त्त, Pr. *घस्सवट्ट् = *घस्सअट्ट् = *घस्सयट्ट् = E. H. घसेटै or घसीटै. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्; thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*; cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गरज् *thunder* (Skr. गर्ज); त्याग् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूप् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोग् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोभ् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोभ), etc.

THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

FIRST CHAPTFR. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मीत् *friend*, lg. f. मितवा or °वाँ, red. f. मितौवा or °वाँ or मितौ; fem. sh. f. खाट् *bed*, lg. f. खटिया or °याँ, red. f. खटियवा or °वाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sítá*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीवा or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तरु *tree*, lg. f. तरुवा or °वाँ; red. f. तरुअवा or तरूवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुअवा or पतोहूवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाऊ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ; red. f. नउअवा or नौअवा or नऊवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुअवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

Note: Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमै or रमैया *Rám.*

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*, माथ् or माथा *forehead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेड़ी *ewe*, लाठ् or लाठी *staff*, मूठ् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. बाति or बाती *wick, light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पीलु or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ; masc. सोनार् *goldsmith*, कहार् *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर् *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word, event*, नाक् *nose*, नींद् *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका or छोकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोढा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgá*, सीता *Sítá*, or semitats., as किरपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोढी *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लरिकी or छोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माखी *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. tats. तरु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in ऊ; masc. नाऊ *barber*, पहरू *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindú*, आलू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, जलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

Note: On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हाँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neuters become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and ऊ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेल्लिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. विच्छुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and ऊ (Pr.) or इः, उः (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes आ in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राआ or राया *king*, E. H. राय् or रै; Pr. fem. वत्ता *word*, E. H. बात्), no E. H. short form in आ can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. आ of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. अए, therefore all E. H. short forms in आ must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in आ, stands for a Pr. fem. इआ, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. आ of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. आह, fem. आअ (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया *grandchild* = Mg. नत्तिआह (Skr. नप्तृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुड्ढिया *old woman* is also = Mg. बुड्ढिआअ. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि *eye*, Pr. n. अच्छिं or f. अच्छी or *अक्खी, E. H. f. आँखि; Skr. m. रश्मिः *cord*, Pr. m. or f. रस्सी, E. H. f. रस्सी[1]); Skr. m. अञ्जलिः *handful*, Pr. m. or f. अंजली, E. H. f. (also m.) अंजलि; Skr. बलिः *offering*, Pr. m. or f. बली, E. H. f. बली; Skr. m. विधि (*good*) *conduct*, Pr. m. or f. विही, E. H. f. बिही; Skr. n. पृष्टम् *back*, Pr. n. पिट्ठं or f. पिट्ठी, E. H. f. पीठ्; Skr. m. कुक्षिः *belly*, Pr. m. or f. कुच्छी, E. H. f. कोह् or कोख्; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चोरिअं (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिआ (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी[1]). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः *knot*, Pr. m. or f. गंठी (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठ् (also m.); Skr. m. बाहुः *arm*, Pr. m. बाहू or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. -बाह् or बाँहः; Skr. n. अन्त्रम् *intestines*, Pr. f. अंती (in Ap. अंतडी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. आँत्; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् *bone*, Pr. n. अट्ठिअं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अट्ठी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. आँठी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिआ is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चौरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्सा; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. आगि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्गी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9[b]); E. H. f. देह् *body* (but S. m. देहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोँह् *oath*, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूँद् or बूँदी *drop*, Skr. m. विन्दुः, Pr. m. विंदू or n. विंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)[1]). The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूँदी) and बाई seem to be diminutives (Pr. *विंदिआ, *वाइआ) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms *विंदा, *वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वथु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्त् and धात्), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are *tats.*, which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रावृष् *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् or पावस्[2]). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यशः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर्; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय् or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चख्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

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1) E. H. f. तआँत् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 69 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सरओ = Skr. f. शरद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सरद्. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रावृषः.

place in the case of neut. in अ (Skr. nom. sing. अम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुक्खं or m. दुक्खे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. णअणं or m. णअणो or णयणो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वअणं or m. वअणो or वयणो, Ap. वयणु (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. बयन् or बैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोअणं or m. लोअणो or लोयणो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिअअं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हिअए (Bh. 394, also हअक्के) or Mh. हिअओ (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धणे (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धणु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिरु (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर्. In Gḍ. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर्, M. n. घर्, but E. H. m. घर्; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिअं, M. n. घीँ, but E. H. m. घी; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिअं, M. n. दहीँ, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानीँ, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिअं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोतीँ, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिकम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्थिअं, M. n. मातीँ, but E. H. m. माथी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोण्णअं or सोण्णयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोनेँ, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुअं, M. n. अंसूँ, but E. H. m. अाँसू (O. H. अंसुअ in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुअं, M. n. जूँ, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुआ; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्त्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिअव्वअं, Ap. n. करेव्वउं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिव्वउं, W. H. n. करिबौँ or m. करिबौ, O. m. करिबा, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब् or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in अनौँ and इबौँ or अबौँ, as indicated by the final anunásika. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gḍs. also.

3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings,* is formed 1) generally by adding the noun लोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलालोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटीलोग् or बेटी, from sg. बेटी. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोड़ा but not घोड़ालोल्; *words* is बात्, not बातलोग्, from the sing. घोड़ा and बात्. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with लोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple.*

Exception. A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as ज़न् *man*, pl. ज़ने; मनुख् *man*, pl. मनइ.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. अन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in अ or आ, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign लोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct* form. See examples in § 379.

Exception. Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate* objects, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gḍs., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. रा, N. ह; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-रा, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-ह or चेलाह-ह, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings.* Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of अ-bases, ended in ए (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार् *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gḍs. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gḍs., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gḍs. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग् *class*, सकल् or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gḍs. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलों, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाव् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final anunásika (Pr. anusvára), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gḍs. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gḍ. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gḍ. (exc. S.) and N. Gḍ., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in ,आ. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऊ is different from the direct. In S. Gḍ. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिए or सामिअ = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिओ, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिआह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिअहो or °हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिअह, S. सामिअ, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोडए or घोडअ = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ = dir. f. S. घोडे; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोडआह = obl. f. M. घाड्या (for *घोडया), E. H. (lg. f.) घोडवा; or gen. sg. Ap. घोडअहो or घोडअहे = obl. f. O. H. घोडअह or O. P. घोडअहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gḍ. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gḍ., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

Direct forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	in उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or औ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उँ n., M. आ or ऊ m., एँ or ऊँ n., O. H. ओ or अव m. अयं n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईं n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. M. ऊ m. f., ऊँ n., G. उ c. g.

Direct forms plural in M.

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., एँ n.	of strong bases in आ	ईं or एँ n.
	in इ	ई f.	in ई	या f., यें n.
	in उ	*deest*	in ऊ	वा f., वें n.

Oblique forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. यँ or ए, M. आ m. n., ए f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. ऊ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ए m., H. H., P., S. ए m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., आँ n., O. H. अअह or अअहि m. n.
	in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or ऊ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.

Oblique forms plural

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. ओं, Br. ओं or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आँ, P. आँ m., ईआँ f., G. ओ, S. आँ or एँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
	in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इयों, Br. इयौं or इन् or इनि, Mw. यां, P. इआँ, G. इओ, M. ईं, S. इआँ or इएँ or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
	in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओं, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उआँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. ऊँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in आ	P. इआँ m, S. आँ or एँ or अनि m., G. आव् (or आओ) m., आँ n., M. याँ or आँ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयौँ or इयन् or इयनि or इन or इनि, P. ईआँ, G. ईओ, M. याँ or ईँ.	
	in ऊ	Br. उआौँ or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. ऊआँ, S. उआँ or उएँ or उअनि or उनि, M. वाँ or ऊँ.	

Obl. forms used as nom. plur.

of weak bases	in अ	B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-हु or अह-हु, E. H. अ, H. H. अ m., एँ f., Br., O. H. अ m., ऐँ f., Mw. अ m., आँ f., P. अ m., इआँ f., S. अ m., आँ or ऊँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m., ओ c. g.
	in इ	B. इ-रा, N. इहे-हु or इह-हु, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इयाँ f., Mw. इ m., याँ f., P. इ m., इआँ f., S. इ m., इऊँ f., G. इ m., इओ c. g., M. इ c. g.
	in उ	B. उ-रा, N. उहे-हु or उह-हु, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उआँ f., S. उ m., ऊँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases	in आ	B. आ-रा, N. आहे-हु or आह-हु, E. H., Mw., S. आ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. आ or ए m., G. आ or आव् m., याँ or ओँव् n., M. ए or ऊ m.
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-हु or ईह-हु, E. H. ई, G. ईओ, H. H. ई m., इयाँ f., Br. ई m., ईँ or इयाँ f., Mw. ई m., याँ f., P. ई m., ईआँ f., S. ई m., ईयूँ f., M. ई m.
	in ऊ	B. ऊ-रा, N. ऊहे-हु or ऊह-हु, E. H., S. ऊ, H. H., W. H. ऊ m., उआँ f., P. ऊ m., ऊआँ f., G. ऊओ or ऊ c. g., M. ऊ m.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

Note: It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and ऊ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in आ, ई, ऊ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ *men* (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *manu*; not मान *measure*, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

ञन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side.* But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग ends in (quiescent) ञ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिश्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिशः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाए, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिश् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिशाः, Pr. दिसाओ, which would not produce the B. दिग. I am inclined to believe, that दिग is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् *of gods* = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् *of a god* = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् *of a god.* Similarly it uses another (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गर् *to do* for कर्) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवद्दिग्गे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-द्दि-गे-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तईँ *to him,* lit. *up to him*). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun द्दिग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. द्दिग्-के and a gen. द्दिगेरु was made. The form द्दिगेरु, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gḍ. area, is no doubt remarcable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. थैल्ला *he was* and in S. थिन्नो, P. था; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रु occurs also in the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gḍs.; though occasionally थो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and था and थ्यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and रु occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. द्दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेरु or हरु to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. रु, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रु, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेरु is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरु and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-रु or देवह-रु *gods* = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-रु). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gḍ. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., ज़ने *men* = ज़नहि lit. *of man* scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. ह or (st. f.) रा (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. ज़नह्-ह (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. ज़नहो केह) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. ज़नह्-ह-को *of men*, dat. ज़नह्-ह-लाइ *to men*, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base ज़न-रा, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base ज़न-दा or ज़न-द, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. ज़न-दे-र *of men*, dat. ज़न-दि-गे *to men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिग्, the true nature of the N. देह or देह is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. आ, f. ए, m. f. ई, m. f. ऊ, and (st. f.) m. या, वा, f. ये, वे; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आँ, ईं, ऊँ, and (st. f.) m. f. याँ, वाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. अ, इ, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. आ or ए (= अअ), इअ, उअ (or in the other Gḍs. contracted ई, ऊ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. अाँ or एँ (in W. H. औं, ओं), and (st. f.) m. f. इआँ or इएँ, उआँ or उएँ (in W. H. इयौं or इयों, उआँ or उओं). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gḍs.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gḍ. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ. The E. Gḍs. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gḍ. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr, स्स (or ष्ष = Skr. स्य) or ह (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह् the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) आह, ईह, ऊह or, with strong bases, 1) अअस्स, इअस्स, उअस्स and 2) अआह, इआह, उआह. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1st set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस, ईस्, ऊस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इअस), वास् (for उअस्), and the 2nd set (dropping ह्[1])) आ, ई, ऊ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इआ), वा (for उआ). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2nd set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इया, उवा (with euph. य् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा *to a God* = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी॑, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी॑ (= Ap. Pr. अट्ठिहिं, Skr. अर्थे *for the sake of*); thus M. देवासाठी॑ lit. *for the sake of God*, i. e. देवास् आठी॑ = Dk. Pr. देवस्स अट्ठिहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2nd set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई॑ lit. *for the benefit of God* = Dk. देवाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाई॑ = Dk. देवयाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देववा के lit. *at the side of God*, A. Mg. देवआह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कक्षे. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and ऊ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gḍ. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, ऊअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. य्), ई and ऊ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, उआ or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gḍ. tendency to drop a final ह्, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *sháh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा बन्धि गोरी, *Revaṭaṭa* 43; or रा चावँड ज़ैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह् and ज़ैतसीह्.

यू and वू). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. जीभे *of a tongue*, contr. for Dk. जीभाय or जिब्भाय or जिब्भाए or जिब्भाए = Skr. जिह्वायाः, of M. जीभ्, Dk. जिब्भा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू *scorpion* has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती *elephant* has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्या); f. घोडी *mare* has obl. f. घोडी, (not घोड्ये), f. सासू *mother-in-law* has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)[1]). The same remarks apply to the E.-Gḍ. obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा *of a horse* might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोडआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोडअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा: (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, ऊपां and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, ऊहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआपां, इआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1st set becomes आँना, ईंना, ऊँना[2]) or (st. f.) यांना (for अयान or इआन), वांना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड्या; analogously Skr. वर्मसारकः should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्या, but it becomes वाटसरू, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडए, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्टसरउ, gen. वट्टसरअह or °हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आँ + ना, ईं + ना, ऊँ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उआन), and the 2nd set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) यआँ, ईं, ऊँ or (st. f.) यआँ (for यआँ or इआँ), वआँ (for उआँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, उन्, or (lg. f.) अवन्, इयन्, उअन्, and the 2nd set (lg. f.) अवआँ, इयआँ, उअआँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1st set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलानं *of women*, दूव्यान *of riches*, गुरून *to teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1st set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवाँना *to Gods* = Dk. देवाणं, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1st set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाण मज्झि, Skr., देवानां मध्ये. The 2nd set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.[1]), also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाईं lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देव्याँ ठाँईं = Dk. देवयाहँ ठाणहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थ°; or (lg. f.) E. H. देववाँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देवआहँ मज्झि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ई and ऊ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईं and ऊँ for या, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईं and ऊँ, which might be contractions of याँ and वाँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्ती *elephant* has obl. pl. हत्तीं (not हत्थाँ), विंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. विंचवाँ or विंचूं. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

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one would expect नां to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is *one* suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final आ; the forms ought to be अँन, ईनँ, ऊँन.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gḍ., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अअहो, इअहो, उअहो or अअहु, इअहु, उअहु and 2) अअहे, इअहे, उअहे or अअहि, इअहि, उअहि. In old Gḍ. (O. H., O. P.) the 1st set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2nd set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अअह, इअह, उअह or आ (for अअ), इअ, उअ, and 2) अअहि or आय (for अअइ) or ऐ or ए, इअहि, उअहि. The 1st set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2nd set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार परह चारै सु गोइ । *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह । *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास । *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै वेराधारा ऽ सो तै ले संसारहि पारा ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or जीवहि मरन न होइ ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रभाऊँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी । ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचारा ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H. [1]); thus रंगअवनि सब मुनिहि दिखाई ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु जुवराजपद रामहि देउ ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., आनहि *to another* (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., कह्यो सम खान तताराह । *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or तत्ताराह उप्पराह । *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु बिधि राम शिवहि समुझावा । पारबती कर जन्म सुनावा ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvatí* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma,* पपाउँ पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town,* पियारी संतत (for पियारिअ) *offspring of the beloved one,* etc. In modern Gḍ. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or ऊ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2nd set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *ṭheṭh bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gḍ. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दीने *to the poor,* O. Gḍ. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper,* O. Gḍ. तामाहि or तामअहि, Ap. तम्बअहे, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gḍs. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gḍs. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र lit. *done of God,* O. Gḍ. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केर, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods,* O. Gḍ. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्घः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-रु or देवहे-रु *Gods,* O. Gḍ. देवह करु, Ap. देवहे or °हो केरु, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्घः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोड़ा-र, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोरा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोड़े दा, S. घोड़े जो *of a horse,* O. Gḍ. घोटअह or °हि करौ or केरौ, Ap. घोउअहो or °हे केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ *of good,* O. H. भल्लअहि क°, Ap. भल्लअहे क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and ऊ by all other Gḍs.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ मेँ lit. *in the midst of the elephant,* O. Gḍ. हथिअह माँही, Ap. हत्थिअहो मज्झहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. विछू मे, but

S. विछुअ मेँ *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gḍ. विछुअह म°, Ap. विच्छुअहो म°, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म°, etc. The weak forms अ, इ, उ are common to all Gḍs; thus dat. sg., O. नर कु, B., E. H. नर के, Br. नर कौँ, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लाई, S. नर खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कक्षे. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अअहं, इअहं, उअहं, 2) अअहुं, इअहुं, उअहुं, 3) अअहिं, इअहिं, उअहिं. In O. H. the 3[d] set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातुपितहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असीस सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dás, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहू। lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter* or *if there is love of you for your daughter*[1]). In modern Gḍ., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अँ, ईं, ऊँ, 2) औं or ओं, (इहुं *deest*), ऊँ, 3) ऐं or एँ, ईं, (उहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अँ, इयँ or यँ, उअँ or वँ, 2) औं or ओं, इयौं or इयों or इयूँ, उअौं or उओं or ऊँ, 3) ऐं or एँ, इएँ or ईं, उएँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are, distributed among the various Gḍs., as follows. The forms अँ (wk. or st.), इयँ or यँ, उअँ or वँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms औं or ओं (wk. or st.), इयौं or इयों, उअौं or उओं in Br. and H. H.; the forms एँ (wk. or st.), इएँ, उएँ in S., and the st. forms ईं and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरँ मेँ lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. णरहं मज्झहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौं मेँ, H. H. नरों मेँ, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidehi having beheld Ráma* (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरहुं म°; S. नरें मेँ, Ap. णरहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोड़ाँ मेँ *in the midst of horses*, Ap. घोडअहं मज्झहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br. घोड़ाँ मेँ, H. H. घोड़ों मेँ, Ap. घोडअहुं म°; S. घोड़ें मेँ, Ap. घोडअहिं म°, etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्तीँ ला lit. *for the benefit of elephants*, Ap. हत्थिअहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369[1]). — 8) I add a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak bases in अ*: masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलप्पा or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहों or (d) जलहे, O. Gḍ. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gḍ. (c) जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg. Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिब्भाए or जिब्भाइ or जिब्भाअ or जिब्भाय (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिब्भहो or (c) जिब्भहे, O. Gḍ. (b) जीभह or (c) जीभहि, M. Gḍ. (b) जीभ (in all) or (c) जीभे (in B., O.). *Gen. plur.*, Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलाणं, जिब्भाणं or (b) जलाहँ, जिब्भाहँ, M. (a) जलाँना, जिभाँना or (b) जलाँ, जिभाँ, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीभन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीभन् or जीभनि, S. (a) जलनिं, जीभुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिब्भहं or (d) जलहुं, जिब्भहुं or (e) जलहिं, जिब्भहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, जिब्भहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलाँ, जिमाँ, Br. (d) जलौं, जीभौं, H. H. (d) जलों, जीभों, S. (d) जलें, जिभें. — *Strong bases in अ*: masc. or neut., तामृक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr. तामृकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्बयप्पा or (b) तम्बयाह (with euph. य्); M. (a) ताँब्यास् or (b) ताँब्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) तामवा (with euph. व्); 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्बअहो or (d) तम्बअहे, O. Gḍ. (c) ताँबाह or (d) ताँबाहि, O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँबा, B. (c) तामा or (d) तामायू, P., H. H. (d) ताँबे, S. (d) टामे. *Fem.*, see fem. strong bases in इ. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. तामृकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तम्बयाणं or (b) तम्बयाहँ, M. (a) ताँब्याँना or (b) ताँब्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामवन् (with euph. व्) or (b) तामवाँ (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous short form तामन्, Br. ताँबन् or ताँबनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तम्बअहं or (d) तम्बअहुं or (e) तम्बअहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँबाँ, S. (c) टामाँ, Br. (d) ताँबौं, H. H. (d) ताँबों, S. (e) टामें. *Fem.*, see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg. or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in* इ: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविण्ण or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gḍ. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gḍ. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भित्ति *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भित्त्याः or भित्तेः (lit. भित्तिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भित्तिण्ण or (b) भित्तीह, M. (a) भीँतीस् or (b) भीँती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भित्तिहो or (d) भित्तिहे, O. Gḍ. (c) भीतिह or (d) भीतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भीत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भित्तीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणं, भित्तीणं or (b) कवीहँ, भित्तीहँ, M. (a) कवींना, भीँतींना or (b) कवीँ, भीँतीँ, E. H. (a) कविन्, भीतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भीतिन् or भीतिनि, S. कविनि, भितिनि or (lg. f.) भितिन्नि or भितिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भित्तिहं or (d) कविहुं, भित्तिहुं or (e) कविहिं, भित्तिहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भीतिहिं, in M. Gḍ.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविण्णहं, भित्तिण्णहं or (d) कविण्णहुं, भित्तिसहुं or (e) कविण्णहिं, भित्तिण्णहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियाँ, Br. (d) कवियोँ, H. H. (d) कवियोँ, भीतियोँ, S. (e) कविएँ, भित्तिएँ. — *Strong bases in* इ: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिण्णस्स or (b) मालिण्णह, M. (a) मालयस् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिण्णहो or (d) मालिण्णहे, O. Gḍ. (c) मालिण्णह or (d) मालिण्णहि, S. (c) मालिन्न, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिण्णहो or (b) घोडिण्णहे, O. Gḍ. (a) घोडिण्णह or (b) घोडिण्णहि, S. (a) घोडिन्न, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. *स्त्रियाए or *स्त्रियाइ or *स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोरिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिण्णाणं, घोडिण्णाणं or (b) मालिण्णहँ, घोडिण्णहँ, M. (a) माल्यानँना, घोड्यानँना or (b) माल्यानँ, घोड्यानँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोरियन् or (b) मलियानँ, घोरियानँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिन्नि or माल्यनि or मालिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिन्नि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोरिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिण्णहं, घोडिण्णहं or (d) मालिण्णहुं, घोडिण्णहुं or (e) मालिण्णहिं, घोडिण्णहिं, S. (a) मालिन्नाँ or माल्यानँ, घोडिन्नाँ or घोड्यानँ, Mw. (a) माल्यानँ, घोड्यानँ, P. (a) मालीन्नाँ, घोडीन्नाँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियौं, घोडियौं, H. H. (d) मालियो, घोडियो, S. (e) मालिएँ, घोडिएँ. — *Weak bases in* उ: masc. or neut., गुरु *teacher*; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुप्पा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरूस् or (b) गुरू; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gḍ. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gḍ. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरूणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूणं or (b) गुलूहँ, M. (a) गुरँूना or (b) गुरँू, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gḍ.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुअहं or (d) गुरुअहुं or (c) गुरुअहिं, P. (c) गुरुआँ, Mw. (c) गुर्वाँ, Br. (d) गुरुओं, H. H. (d) गुरुओ, O. H. (e) गुरुहिं or गुरुअहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in* उ: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक *scorpion*; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुअप्पा or (b) विच्छुआह, M. (a) विंचूस् or (b) विंचा, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) बिछुआ or बिछुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुअहो or (d) विच्छुअहे, O. Gḍ. (c) विछुअह or (d) विछुअहि, S. (c) विछुअ, E. H. (c) विछू, M. (c) विंचू. *Fem.* बालुका *sand*; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुआए or बालुआइ or बालुआय, M. (a) बालु, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बलुआ or बलुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुअहो or (c) बालुअहे, O. Gḍ. (b) बालुअह or (c) बालुअहि, S. (b) बालुअ, E. H., etc. बालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुआणं or (b) विच्छुआहँ, M. (a) विंचूँना or (b) विंचूँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विछुअन् or (b) विछुआँ (but used in the sing.), Br. विछुअन् or विछुअनि, S. विछुअनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विछुन्, Br. and S. विछुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुअहं or (d) विच्छुअहुं or (e) विच्छुअहिं, P. and S. (c) विछुआँ, Mw. (c) विछूँ, Br. (d) विछुओं, H. H. (d) विछुओ, S. (e) विछुएँ. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final anunásika in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो *Gods* for *देवो, Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो *tongues* for *जीभो, Ap. जिब्भहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ [1])

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or व्, as written for me by a Paṇḍit. But it is quite customary now in Gḍ., to spell the same final sound as उ or व् or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देव् or देओ *god*, चढाउ or चढाव् or चढाओ *attack*.

horses for *घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडअहुं; fem. पोथीउ *books*, Ap. पोत्थिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँवू or सोनाँउ, Ap. सोणअहुं. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for *सोना, Ap. सोणअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gḍ. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gḍ. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नर्‌न् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नर्‌न्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नराणं मज्झि वट्टइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्त्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर्‌, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर्‌ or O. H. केर्‌, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gḍ., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also[1]). In Gḍ. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gḍ. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular *case*, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कै means the gen., with सें the instr., with मेँ the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gḍ. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gḍs. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in आ. = Ap. gen. in अहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in अहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पो or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा मॉं or घोडै *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gḍ., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवओ or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवकः), the gen. sg. देवहो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

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1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of" (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in आदु or आउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in इ (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in आउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. णं. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हं, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + आम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both णं and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हं, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and णं are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हं and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gḍ.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Mḍ. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)[1]. Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Mḍ. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases[2]. These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gḍ. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हु as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Mḍ. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Mḍ. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उसेः स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिउ । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्गिहे) । अग्गिहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., *the abl. sg. has* हे *or* हो, *as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“*. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339-340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Md. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl. [1]). As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Md. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswára. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gds. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Md. [2]) ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

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1) Md. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहं पडिउ ॥ पर्हुं चलिउ ॥ बाहुल्यात् । रुक्खाहिंतो । परेसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । ग्रामो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वम्भणाहं । वम्भणाहुं । ब्राह्मणानामित्यर्थे । वम्भणाणं ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees", „he came from foreign (countries)"; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Bráhmans".

2) Md. says: हिंभिस्सुपां ॥ त्रिषेषां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वणहिं । वहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wifes".

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हें is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हं and हुं to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. एँ (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form एं even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. *sing.* (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वणाएं *by a forest*, वालाएं *by a girl*, अगिएं *by fire*, वाउएं *by wind*; they would be equal to *वणाअहिं, *वालाअहि, *अगिअहिं, *वाउअहिं. Here एं can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in आ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to ए. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. *sing.* (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हं, हुं, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो *from a tree* or *of a tree*; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls'. conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अगिहो or अगिह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार् परह चारै सु गोइ। i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or सेन भीमह करि किन्निय। i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or चल्यौ उदै क्रूरह बलिय। i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or बन जूथ मृग सिंघह रु गज। i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार् धर। *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or तब सुमंत परधानह पुछिय। i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ज्ञांने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याय तौ कलह न किज्जै । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); *act.* बीसलह राज कथि पुब्ब कथ्य । i. e., *Visalá rája told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु छंडि तुअरह । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); *acc.* अनंगपालह बुल्लाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpála* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह लैआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एत्ताहे *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एत्ताहे is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एत्तहे *in this*, तेत्तहे *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind, after* (H. C. 4, 420 for *पच्छहि), अगइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एम्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for *तलइ or *तलहि[1]). In this contracted form एं, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)[2]); see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md.: स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धिए । धेनुए । णाइए । वहुए । वालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides एं, as वालाएं), as *by intelligence, by a cow, by a river, by a wife, by a girl*; contr. for *बुद्धिअहि, *णाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

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1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. णाईए or णाईइ or णाईअ, but in the Ap. णाइए.

the king for you (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिषि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62, Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. *plur.* suff. are sometimes used in the *sing.* Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अग्गिएं *by fire* for *अग्गिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हिं is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौं नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in निज लोकहिं बिरंच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरीं *in a house* or *in houses* for *घरहिं; and, in the contracted form एँ, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरें *by a house* for *घरहिं [1]). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एँ is seldom used except with the postpositions करून् or कडून् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ऐँ or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाइँ or पाछे *behind, after* for *पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. ग्रहुं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. *plur.* (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms ग्रउँ or ग्रोँ or उँ (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form ग्रोँ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form ऊ; thus S. घरउँ or घरोँ or घरूँ, P. घरोँ *from a house,* or P. पाछोँ, W. H. पाछू *behind, after,* for *घरहुं, *पच्छहुं. Again the suff. हं (or termin. ग्रहं), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. *plur.* (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form ग्रां (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरीं *in a house* or *in houses,* for *घरहं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here,* lit. *in this,* scl. *place,* for *एहहं (Skr. ईदृग्रे); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरूँ *from a house,* मंकाँ *from within,* for *मज्झहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. ग्राहँ (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडवाँ (कै *of*) *a horse,* for Mg. घोडग्राहँ; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gḍ. to express the nom. and voc, sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = *किस्स (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = *किस्से (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gḍ. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. ज़ास *of which,* तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

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or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्सु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, ज्ञासु; e. g., तासु किन्नो चंद् कहिय *of him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in ञ्रस (perhaps = Ap. ञ्रसु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उज्जेंन दिसि । पहिलै पंगस पुत्र ॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in ञ्रसि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह् or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्य् becoming ह्, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिइ् for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह् is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.[1]). Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि *from a calf* (lit. gen. *of a calf*), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह *of a calf*, Pr. गिरीहि *from a mountain*, गुरूहि *from a teacher* (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे[2]). In O. Gḍ. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhraṃsa (probably Gujarátí or Marwárí) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350; this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. ञ्रस् in the case of all bases, exc. those in ञ्र.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे *from that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)[1]), which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to ब्भो or हो (cf. Pr. जीहा or जिब्भा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. *plur.* suff. The change of „number" would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छाणं *of calfs.* This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to णहं or णह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular; a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. खम् = Skr. स्थाणुः, Pr. तुण्हिक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. थुल्लो = Skr. स्थूलः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ण् is changed to णह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. णह *ṇha* is changed to हं *haṃ* (projecting the *anusvára*, for *ṃha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvára* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °आनाम् is in Pr. *अणं = अणहं = अहं = आहँ. The form णहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचणहं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइणहं *of how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gḍ. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ꣇ह or ꣇न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvâra* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे᳐ (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्[1]), which would regularly change in Pr. to हे᳐ or हिं (for ब्भे᳐ or ब्भिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gḍ. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं *to men*, S. act. नरे᳐ *by men* or obl. नरे᳐ खे *to men*.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gḍ. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gḍ., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. ज्ञन *men* with the S. obl. sg. ज्ञन *man* (nom. sg. ज्ञनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. ज्ञने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् *to thee*. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुंतो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. জনে; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. জীভেঁ or জীভেঁ *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. জিভেঁ; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. জীভাঁ or জিভাঁ with the S. obl. pl. জিভাঁ; the S. nom. pl. জিভূঁ with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) জিভূঁ; the W. H., P. nom. pl. ভিত্তিয়াঁ *walls* with the S. obl. pl. ভিতিয়াঁ; the S. nom. pl. ভিতিউঁ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) ভিতিউঁ (or ভিতূঁ), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. ঘোড়ে *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. ঘোড়ে; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. ঘোড়া *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. ঘোড়া; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. সোনাঁ *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. সোনাঁ; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. ঘোড়িয়াঁ *mares* with the S. obl. pl. ঘোড়িয়াঁ; the S. nom. pl. ঘোড়িউঁ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) ঘোড়িউঁ; the W. H. nom. pl. পোথীঁ *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. পোথীঁ *in books*[1]); the W. H. and P. nom. pl. সাসুআঁ *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. সাসুআঁ, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as লোগ *people*, গন *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old gen. (§ 366). In B. it is actually the gen. sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. দেবে, gen. sg. দেবে-র *of a god*, nom. pl. দেবে-রা *gods*; here রা is merely the strong form of র; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the gen. sg., composed of the

1) The form পোথীঁ, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for পোথিএঁ = Ap. পোথিঅহিं.

gen.-affix ह (for कह or केह, § 377) and the O. Gḍ. gen. sg. in हे or ह (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gḍ. gen. or obl. sg. देवहे or देवह, N. nom. pl. देवह-ह or देवह-ह *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. घोड *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. घोडग्रहे scl. गणु = Skr. घोटकस्य गणाः, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in इ, उ, ई, ऊ is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e. g., E. H. nom. sg. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या (for *रामया) *Ráma* = obl. form E. H. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. रामग्राह or pl. रामग्राहँ (see § 365, 1. 4)[1]). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in अ, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in आ. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be देवे *a god*, घोडाए *a horse* (for the usual देव, घोडा), both obl. forms = O. Gḍ. gen. sg. देवहि, घोडाहि (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. घोडा *a horse* = O. Gḍ. gen. or obl. sg. घोडाह or घोडग्रह, Ap. Pr. घोडग्रहो. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gḍs. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. घोडो, Br. घोडौ = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. घोडउ, Pr. घोडओ; E. H., B., O., M. घोडा = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. घोडअ or घोडइ or घोडए (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. घोटकः; again E. H., B., O., M. देव *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. देव or देवि or देवे; W. H., P., G., N. देव or S., O. W. H., O. P. देवु = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. देवु, Pr. देवो, Skr. देवः. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. इं (Vr. 5, 26, = Skr. नि), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also इं, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. आइं, ईइं, ऊइं, in Ap. Pr. अइं, इइं, उइं, or with strong bases अअइं, इअइं, उअइं. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. रामए; for ए could not well become आ; and it would not account for the final *anunásika* in E. H.

come in M. एँ (इइं and उइं *desunt*) or, with strong bases, एँ or ईँ, येँ, वेँ. Thus M. घरेँ *houses*, Ap. घरइं, Pr. घराइं, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वाँसरेँ *calves*, Ap. वच्छउअइं, Skr. वत्स°; M. केलीँ *plantains*, Ap. केलअइं, Pr. कयलआइं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदलकाणि; M. मोत्येँ *pearls*, Ap. मोत्तिअइं, Pr. मोत्तिआइं, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. अंसूँ (or अंसवेँ), Ap. अंसुअइं, Pr. अंसुआइं, Skr. अश्रुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. जीभा *tongues* (nom. pl. of जीभ), Pr. जिब्भा or जिब्भाउ or जिब्भाओ, Skr. जिह्वाः; or M. घोड्या *mares*, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोटिकाः; or M. सासू (or सासवा) *mothers-in-law*, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्वश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः ॥ सुमोरुत् स्यात् ॥ चन्दु । राउ । अग्गिउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon, king, fire, honey*; b) होश्च ॥ सुमोरू हो च स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो ॥ i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सौ पुंस्यत ओ क्वचित् ॥ सप्पो ॥ i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) ङसो हे च ॥ रुक्खहे । वालाहे ॥ *a*-bases have also हे (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees, girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच् च जश्शसोः ॥ वालाउ ॥ चकारादू वालाहे ॥ i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or हे in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा ॥ नपुंसके जश्शसोरू इं स्यात् ॥ पागू दीर्घो वा ॥ वणाइं । वणाइं ॥ मुहूइं । मुहुइं ॥ i. e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods, honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gḍs. is identical with some one Gḍ. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a*) *horse, oh horse,* or *horses*; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडो, P. घोडिउ (= *घोडयु or *घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns[1]). The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत्य् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिभे *oh tongue*, मावे *oh mother*, धीए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो ङसः ॥ त्रिषु ङसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो । वणाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or ञ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडोउ *oh mares* = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for *नरउ or *नरञ = *नरहु or *नरह, Ap. णरहो. Gd. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or *(of) horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Ráma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Ráma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgá*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent", or (as I shall call it) *active case.*

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gḍ. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gḍs. from the E. Gḍs. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gḍ. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that" may be in Skr. ते एतद् न अचेरुः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचीर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एअं अणाइण्णं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense,* whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an act. sense, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं अगाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S, XXVII, 492), as *Setub.* 6, 51 आढत्ता दीसिउं णिसिअरच्छाआ *the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निशिचरच्छाया दृष्टम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., ibid. 8, 30 दीसिउं पउत्तं

सेउबंधस्स मुहुं *the head of the bridge began to be seen,* or ibid. 7, 71 घप्पिउं पउत्ता पवंगा *the monkeys began to be taken,* etc. Now of these two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case,* was adopted by the W. and S. Gḍs., while the other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass.-act. constr. with the subj. in the nom. case,* was chosen by the E. and N. Gḍs., and, of course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number and gender with the subj. Thus *„they have not eaten that"* is in E. H. ईलोग् ऊ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्होंने वह् न खायौ. Here खैलेन् is the 3[d] plur. masc. 2[nd] pret. (formed from the past part. pass. खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and governing the acc. ऊ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with वह् and governed by the instr. or rather act. इन्होंने. — It has been stated already (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substitute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं एअं अणाइण्णं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तैः)[1]). It has also been stated (ibid.) that this Pr. tendency has become in Gḍ. an absolute law, and also, that the Gḍ. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen. Hence, as regards the W. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ., their method of expressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case,* may now be stated thus, that they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj. in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole of the W. and S. Gḍ.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धणस्स लद्धो for धणेण लद्धो *acquired with money,* or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेण मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

ने॑). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behárí Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs [1]). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gḍ. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. ने॑, Mw. नै॑, P. नूँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. ने॑ is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौ॑ or को in Br., नै॑ or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुज and राज are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and तिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to". An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or ना can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in आ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act.-case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. नें, M. sg. नें or pl. नीं, P. नै, G. ने or णे, N. ले. The aff. थीं in G. and हीं, सीं or शीं in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gḍs., but the verb like the E. Gḍs. (see § 487).

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or कऱ्, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gḍs., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Note: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सों or सेन or ते or थीं, loc. में or म or माँ or माँक or माँहीं.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) कऱ् and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, कऱ्) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घऱ् कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घऱ् के सामी से कहह् *tell ye the master of the house*; घऱ् कै लोग् आवत् बाटैँ *the people of the house are coming*; घऱ् के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावह् *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई ओकऱ् or ओकै घऱ् बाटै *this is his house*; ऊ ए करे or ए के घऱ् मे बाटै *he is in his house*; ऊ ए कऱ् or ए कै पोथी बाटैँ *those are his books*; ऊ एकरे or एके पोथी मे पढ़ैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities.* Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दा, S. ज़ो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. ज़े; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ज़ी; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ज़े or ज़िअ; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. ज़ा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिअाँ, S. ज़े or ज़नि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँव्, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीअाँ, S. ज़ूँ or ज़िऊँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीअाँ, S. ज़े or ज़िनि or ज़ुनि or ज़िअनि or ज़िउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चेँ, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. ची, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. चीँ, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्यां, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gḍs.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौँ	नै
abl. instr.	हइते	हु, करु	से	से	सोँ	सूँ
gen.	र	रु, करु	कै, करु	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	मेँ	मेँ	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लाई
abl. instr.	थी	ते	खों, खाँ	सीँ, हीँ, हून्, ऊन्	सँग
gen.	नो	दा	ञो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मेँ	ंत्	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	नेँ	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करु बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहु बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरु के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरु लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागात् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लगू, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागीँ or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लयेँ or लौँ or लोँ 2, P. लई् 1, S. लाइ् or लइ् 1, G. लीधे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई् 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाईँ 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे् 1, ठा-ह् or ठुँ or ठाउँ 5, E. H. थीँ 5, W. H. थीँ 5, G. थी 5, P. थीँ or थोँ or O. P. थावहु or थो or थोँ 5, ठाइ् or थानि 1, N. थाञि 5 or 6, M. ठाईँ 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कॉनी or कणि 1, P. कन्नी 1, G. काने 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनाँ or कनोँ 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाहीँ, W. H. पै, P. पाहोँ 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काछे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँहँ 1, Br. कौँ 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कूँ 1, S. खे 1 or खाँ or खोँ 5; g) (Skr. तर्हि?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताईँ or तईँ 2, ते or तेँ 5, P. ताईँ or तीकु or तीकुर् or तेज़ी 2, ते or उतोँ or उताँ 5, S. ताई or तोईँ or तोञी or तोणी 2, ताँ or तोँ 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्त), E. H. बाटे 1, S. वटे 1, वाटाँ 5, G. वते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वरं), E. H. बरे् 1, M. वरून् 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. काज् 1, O. H. काज 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे् or करि् 1, M. करून् 5, करिताँ 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. साठीँ; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेती 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. साँगे or साँगाँ 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सँगाँ 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सार् or सारू 1, S. सारू 1, G. सारू 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधी 2, S. सूधाँ 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त°), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूँतो 5, N. भन्हा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि् 4, W. H. करि् or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दृष्ट्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पार्श्व), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पासं 6, पासोँ 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासीँ 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. परू or परे् 6, E. H. परू or परि् 6, W. H. परू or परि् or पै 6, P. परू 6, परोँ 5, S. परे् 6, पराँ or परोँ 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मधे or माके 6, E. H. माँक् or माँही or मेँ or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मेँ or मोँ or माँ or माँय् or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मठि or मकि or माँक or मक्कं or माहैँ or माँहोँ or माही or महि or मैँ 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मेँ 6, माँ or मोँ 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. माझी 6, M. मध्येँ 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितरू or भितरे् 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतरू 6; x) (Skr. कट), M. कडे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मथे 6, G. माटे 1, N. माथि 6; z) (Skr. सिरस्), P. सिरू 6, S. सिरे् 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. विच् 6, O. P. विचि 6, S. विचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाई॰। उमगि अवध अंबुधि कहं आई॰॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कक्षे *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or *ककखे or *ककखहुं (see § 378) or probably *कहे or *कहि or *कहहुं (or *काहहुं, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कौ॰ or (with the loss of anunásika) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहुँ). The S. खे has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह्, just as in भैस् *buffalo* for वहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गद्हा (Pr. गद्दह H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लये॰ or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ् or लइ् (Tr. 404), P. लई्. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधो, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited.* This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be *लहिए or *लहिअहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइअहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लये॰ or P. लई्, and still more contr. ले or *लै॰. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लै॰ and ले further change to Mw. नै॰ and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be *लहिअहुं or *लइअहुं (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to *लयूँ or लौ॰ or लो॰. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until.* From लो॰ arises the P. dat. aff. नूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have आ, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of.* — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगी, N. लागी, M. लागीं, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until,* or *on account of, for,* and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with.* In the Ap. Pr. it is लग्गे or लग्गि, whence the Gḍ. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लग्गहिं, whence the Gḍ. लागीं or लागी or लागी[1]). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागों and S. लाकूँ (Tr. 401, ?लागूँ?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लग्गहुं. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाईं and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठीं (in the so-called postpos. साठीं, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. अट्ठहिं, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of.* — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाहीं or पै, P. पाह् (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. *पक्खे or *पाहे or *पाहहिं, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहों (Ld. 74) = Ap. *पाहहुं. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनै or कानीं (Mw.), P. कन्नी, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of,* is = Ap. loc. कण्णे or कण्णहिं and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कार्णे (lit. *at the ear* or *belonging to the ear,* i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तईं or ताईं, P. ताईं or तीकु or तीकूर् or तेडी (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताईं or तोईं or तोडी or तोपी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to,* I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, तें, P. ते, उतों, उताँ (Ld. 77), S. तां, तों (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to,* and the loc. aff., B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लग्गिऊण; so also might be the G. लगी = Pr. लग्गिअ; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागीं, on account of the final *anunásika.*

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तरित (or उत्तरित, of the R. तॄ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तरिते would become Ap. तरिए or *तइए (see § 124) and contract to Gḍ. ते, just as Gḍ. ले arises from लहिए, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements कूं, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements जी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सारू or सारूं, S. सारूं, G. सारु, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहु or सरिअहु (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. सँगे (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सनूं or सने or सेनूं or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणे *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. सँगै *from*, S. सँगाँ *on account of* (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. ञ् would readily pass into ण् or न्, cf. पण for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधाँ *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. *सवँड or *सउँड), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with* or *up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वते (Ed. 115), meaning *for* or *instead*, and the abl. aff., N. बाटू, S. वटाँ *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. वट्ट or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरून् are derived from the Skr. वर *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कातू is the Pr. loc. कज्जे, Skr. कार्ये *for the work* or *sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for *करिए = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करून्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करितां which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in आस्, ईस्, ऊस् sg. and आँना, ईँना, ऊँना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

Note: I think the identification of the S. खे with *कहे more consonant with Gḍ. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र्, and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = क्रिते = खिए् = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gḍ. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मिर्धगु *tabor*, हिर्धा *heart*, for Skr. मृदङ्ग *a drum*, हृदय *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र् has *not* disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र् has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किर्ये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्थ (e. g., Pr. एत्थ or एत्थु *here* = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्थ with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in कौं, कों); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हिंतो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हों, the latter to E. H., W. H. सों, Mw. सूँ, G. शूँ; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अंति contracts in Gḍ. ऐं or ऐं or ईं (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होंतओ or होंतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुंतो or हूँत[1]). These forms

1) हूँत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होंतु or हुंतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू *to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हइते, and N. भंदा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms हवंत° and भवंत or भंत (cf. H. C. 4, 60 हवंति and H. C. 4, 365 भंति = Skr. भवंति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it"; thus Ap. तहाँ होंतउ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तहाँ हुंतो आयो, N. तहाँहाँ भंदा आयो, B. ओथा हइते आइल् *from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come.* The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come.* Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू *be* and अस् *be* respectively, slightly modified for हंतो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 हंति)[1]) and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हंतो or हुंतो (H. C. 4, 61) have become हिंतो, so संतो or सुंतो may become सिंतो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्[2]), and in the S. से॑ (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. शे and M. सी॑ or शी॑[3]). The S. सएँ (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संते which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो are used for the

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1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. अंति of the 3. pl. and अंत° of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With त् for न्त्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. अंति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. अंतो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी॑ or शी॑ cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into स् + ई॑, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी॑ = देवास् or देवस्स + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like नें॑ in त्याच्या नें॑ *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई॑ is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होंतउ for the abl. also; similarly शी and ही are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gḍs. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओह् से कइल् गइल् *done by him* or *with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with"; thus *gone with him* is not ओह् से गइल् but ओह् के संग् गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वह् पुनहू से पलकु *return with Punahú a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हिंतो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होंतउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हिंतो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. ही is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gḍs. extend सी, सो; से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुंतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हून् or, curtailed, ऊन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हिंतो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हूँत्) traced to the Ap. होंतउ (or rather the wk. f. होंतु) by the change of न्त् to न्, as in the S. suff. अनि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अंति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हूनि or हूनियाँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियाँ or उनि and in M. M. ऊन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होऊन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., तहाँहाँ देखि निस्क्यो *he came ont from there*, माँझ् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हून् and the conj. part. होऊन; and, on the whole, the identification of हून् with हुंतो seems most to commend itself [1]). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. ही with Pr. हिं and of the H. सो or से with Skr. सम् (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हिंतो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-हु or ठाउँ or ठुँ (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (हु is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाउँ or ठुँ = Ap. abl. ठाणाहु. Identical with these, only substituting थ् for ठ् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. थाजि, P., E. H., W. H. थौं (Ld. 77), G. थी (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. थाणि; and O. P. थावहु or थों or थो, M. P. थों = Ap. abl. थाणाहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थकी the aff. के and की are superadded. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तें, P. उतों, S. तां or तों, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करून् and वरून्, and of the N. बाट, S. व्रटाँ. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासों, and P. परों, S. पराँ or परों, and S. माँ or मों or मंझाँ and S. मथाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. एँ (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. एं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवें *by a god*, Ap. देवें, for *देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईं, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीं *by gods* = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. अँ and अउँ or ओं or ऊँ in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or ओं in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घराँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरउं or घरों or घरूँ, P. घरों = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केर् m., केरि f., and in the strong form, *masc.*, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); *fem.*, dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केहँ, pl. केराँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केर् in सो सुग्रीव केर लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugríva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lanká) or मिटै न जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sitá* (T. Dás in Kl. 72).; masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि ब्रत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dás, *Lanka*), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूँ काको मिथ्य भ्रम ज्ञग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabír, Suravalí 12), or केरौ in दौरै गज्ञ ग्रंधं चाहुवान केरौ *blindly ran the elephant of the Cháhuván* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in ग्राखर केरे ब्रषत मे बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtás); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरीट दृप्रकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dás, Lanká), or केरा in ज्ञान्हवी केरा तरंग तज्जो ने तट माँ ज्ञाइ कूप खादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kávyad. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर बाणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dás, Lanká), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केरू etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., करू m., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. करू in कौन रंग है ज्ञीव को ता करू करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabír, Ramaini 24), or ज्ञत्रि ज्ञाति करू रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dás, Lanká); or plur. सब्ब करू बाजु सुकृत फल ब्रीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dás Ayodhyá 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किन्निय। हय किन्निय विन नरनि। सेन भीमह करि किन्निय॥ lit. *the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Somabadha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर् *of gods*, where कर् is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे *to gods* and abl. देव-मानन्-करु *from gods*, where करे and करु are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर् (cf. O. हाते *to* or *in a hand*, हातु *from a hand* of हात् *hand*, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर्, करे, करु into र्, रे, रु respectively, e. g., ज्ञन-र् *of a man*, but ज्ञन-मानन्-कर् *of men*; ज्ञन-रे *to a man*, ज्ञन-रु *from a man*. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र् in the gen. (e. g., sg. ज्ञने-र् *of a man*, pl. ज्ञन-दे-र् *of men*; sg. चेला-र् *of a disciple*, pl. चेला-दे-र् *of disciples*, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., ज्ञने-रा *men*, lit. *(multitude) of man*; चेला-रा *disciples*, see § 369); N. the weak f. रु in the nom. pl. (e. g., ज्ञनहे-रु or ज्ञनह-रु *men*, चेलाहे-रु or चेलह-रु *disciples*, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., ज्ञन-रो घर् *the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रै घरै *in the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रा घर्-नै *to the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रा घर् *the houses of a man*, ज्ञन-री बात् or बातँ *the word* or *words of a man*). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर् is curtailed to र् (e. g., मर्-र् *having died* = H. H. मर् कर्, see § 491)[1]). On the other hand, र् may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करे, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर्. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष मुक्कै *his life departs from pain* (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती। *hear, o Vibhúshan, the lord's custom* (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहब सब कोइ *every one will say (it is) the quality of love* (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु बायसु सब धरम-क टीका *(to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue* (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly, और् *and* is shortened in E. H. to अर् and curtailed in N. to र्; e. g., थिया र् *and they were.*

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उडरै छिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बाँधुलि कमल-क संग *the bándhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर् *the house of a man,* but जन के घर् मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gḍ.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर इंद कौ । नाम कह्यौ परवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kaṇṭasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कथा मंउ चहुआंन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuán* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर स्वान के जन्मै धरई । जो गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtás). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कथा जंपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कथा विस्तार किय । जो राजन टूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किअहु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किओ [1]). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie,* that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1st set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केरु m., केरी f., केरं or केरु n.; st. f. sg. केरओ m., केरिआ f., केरअं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; *masc.* केरओ in एसो क्खु अलंकारओ अज्जआ केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. करु, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करहु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. आर्यायाः अलङ्कारः); *fem.* in मम केलिका वडवालिआ *my turn of slaughter* (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बडपारी); *neut.* in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं *whose is this conveyance* (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *your wealth* (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरें हुंकारउएं मुहहुं पडंति तणाइं *on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer)* (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण)[1]. It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gḍ. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gḍ. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures* or Chand's भीमह करि सेन *the army of Bhima* with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *the wealth of you*; 2) it is *pleonastic*, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरउं धणु[2]) or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gḍ.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gḍ., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतणौ i. e. सम्ब° परे केर° भवतः *after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used*; and then follows the example जसु केरें etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केर, etc. are identical with the Gḍ. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gḍ. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत *done, made*, of the R. कृ *do*. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on *intrinsic* and *phonetic* grounds. In the first place, the phrase *done by* most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „*of*"; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1873. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase जसु केरें हुंकारउएं lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरं *royal*, पारकेरं *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हहं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हहं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कश्श केलके *whose* (Mrchchh. 96, 22), तविश्शाणीए केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done", केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरं = Skr. राज्ञकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरं or अम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मत्कृतं *done by us*[1]). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमर्थस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and पराराज्ञ्यां क्कडिक्कौ च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rája* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. ईय and कीय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतणौ (H. C. 4, 422)[2]). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वयनं = Skr. राज्ञकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हहं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = *तम्हकरिओ, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to रु, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कीय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर् with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks *for*, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्जा, वेल्ली, पेज्जंतो or पेरंतो, सुंदेरो, अच्छेरो, बम्हचेरं are = Skr. शय्या, वल्लिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यः, ब्रह्मचर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)[1]). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अज्ज° or °आरिअ° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्जा or भारिआ = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्जं or कारिअं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*[2]). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर् with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gḍ. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in ऋ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर्, धर्, मर्, सर्, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिओ, धरिओ (H. C. 1, 36), मरिओ, सरिओ (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिअउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिओ and the

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1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेण्हं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. गेण्हं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेण्हइ (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = *ग्रह्यं = Pr. गेज्झं. — The Pr. मेत्त or मेत्त for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °अरिअ° also, but not °एर°; viz. र्यस्य रिअः प्राग्ह्रस्वो वा। र्यस्य रिअः स्यात्। प्राक् ह्रस्वश्च वा स्यात्॥ भारिआ। भरिआ॥ कार्ये कचू च दृश्यते। कच्चं। चकारात् कारिअं। करिअं च॥ i. e., „*ry* becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long". — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार् in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, आजिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आजिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिअओ become केरो and केरओ, just as Skr. आश्चर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अच्छरिअं or अच्छेरं (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिओ *heaped up* and दरिअं *split*, of the Rs. उक्क् and दृ resp.[1]). The modified part. forms केरो and केरओ are never used in Pr. or Gḍ. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिओ and करिअओ serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gḍ. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gḍ. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर् m., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो m., in Kn., कर्यो m. in Mw. and कर्यौ m. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किअहु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया m., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया, *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब । रोस भरि ग प्रथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirâj* (= H. H. भर् गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दार्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short* अ before र्य् to produce ए; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कार्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिल° presuppose an original form करिद् or करित (§§ 109. 307). The st. form कयतें m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद् ललाट प्रसेद् । कयतें संकर् गजराजं ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revaṭaṭa 3); or तिहि उप्पर् चाँमंड । कयतें हुस्सैन षांन सज्जि ॥ *upon this Chámand made Hussain Khán ready* (Revaṭaṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइआ) in करिय अरज्ज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revaṭaṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुज्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revaṭaṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., ची f., चें n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलाओ for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेच्चयं *ours*, तुम्हेच्चयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्केरं and तुम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अम्हक्केरं, which shows that it is = *अम्हक्कयं = *अम्हक्कइअं = *अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अक्क् and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्य (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर् (unlike त्य) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ् is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. छा *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khiá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किआ and W. H. क्या for *किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा *of whom*); also the G. ज्यो m., ज्यी f., ज्युँ n. *who* for *ह्यो, *ह्यी, *ह्युँ (see § 438, 5)[1]). — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkaní gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दी f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देर, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिआं, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „*of*"; e. g., the P. तंत्र दी वाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are जो m., जी f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ्. Other examples of the same change are the P. अजेहा or अज़ेहा *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. *एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एज्जाहो (Ls. 455, for *एदिआहो = *एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुजाडो *what* (cf. H. कुजा *where*) for Skr. *केवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. डा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. डिअनु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नी f., नुँ n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or इ् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तणो, तणी, तणुँ, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., अह भग्गा अम्हाहं तणा *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनौ) and Mw. तणो or तणूँ m., तणी f., तणाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewárí gen. aff. ळो m., ळी f., ळा or ळै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkaní लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ळ, which appears to be a modification of the ड़ in the O. P. डा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. जा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68. 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिऊं f., obl. संदे or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संज़ f., pl. संदि m., संज़ f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंज़ f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंज़ f. (see Bs. II, 290)[1]). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and अस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts स and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. ज़नहंदो or Ksh. ज़नहिंदू *of men* being really ज़नहं or ज़नहिं + दों or दू; S. ज़नसंदो and Ksh. ज़नसंदू *of a man* being ज़नस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. ज़णास्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

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1) Bs. transliterates سنڑ by संञ्ञ्, which is hardly correct. The final ں is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long *a*; e. g., نڱ = न *not*, ںہ = ञ *with*, بندں = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संञ *sañja* or संञा *sañjá*; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of,* which in Ap. Pr. becomes मज्झे or मज्झि or मज्झहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gḍ. sets, one retaining ज्झ्, the other changing it to ह् (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माझे, S. मंझे for Ap. मज्झे; the O. H. मझि or माँझ, E. H. माँझ् for Ap. मज्झि, and the O. M. माझी (or माझीं) for Ap. मज्झहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंझों or मंझाँ *from-within* for Ap. मज्झहुं or मज्झहं. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मझि, and the O. H. माँहैं or माँहीं or माँही, E. H. and Br. माँही, Mw. माहै or माईं or मईं (for *महीं) for Ap. मज्झहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मैं contr. from *महीं, E. H., W. H., G. माँ, N. मा similarly contr. from *महाँ = मझाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मज्झहं; and W. H. मों for *महों = मझों (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मज्झहुं. Both, माँ and मों, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाईं = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थाजि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माथि and S. मथे *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्थि or मत्थे for Skr. मस्ते *on the head* or *top of,* and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मथाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिर् *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितर् or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतर् *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gḍs. पर् or परि or पर *upon,* Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. पराँ and S. or P. परों *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास् = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासों = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. बीच् *within* = Ap. विच्चे or विच्चि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ये lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्त्तमान; g) the M. ंत् *mt,* as in घरांत् *in a house,* कवींत् *in a poet,* मधूंत् *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तर् *within*; and related to it, in all Gḍs., अंतर् = Ap. अंतह् (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within.* — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gḍs.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐँ or एँ in E. H., ईँ in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ईँ in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहिं; d) loc. sg. in अाँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in अाँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहं; e) loc. sg. in ओँ or ऊ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367; 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

1. Masculines in अ.

a) Short form: राम् *Rám*,

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom.	राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग्	or रामन्लोग्
acc.	राम् or र °के	राम् or रामन् के	रामन्लोग् or °गन् के	or रामन्लोग् or °के
instr.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोग् से
dat.	राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के	or रामन्लोग् के
abl.	राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोग् से
gen.	राम् कै, °के	रामन् कै, °के	रामन्लोगन् कै, °के	or रामन्लोग् कै, °के
loc.	राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे	or रामन्लोगन् मे
voc.	हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग्	or हे रामन्लोग्

b) Long form: रमन्वा or रमन्वाँ.

nom.	रमन्वा	रमन्वा	रमन्वाल्लोग्	or रमन्वन्लोग्
acc.	रमन्वा or र° के	रमन्वा or रमन्वन् के	रमन्वाल्लोग् or °गन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् or र °के
instr.	रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वाल्लोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
dat.	रमन्वा के	रमन्वन् के	रमन्वाल्लोगन् के	or रमन्वन्लोग् के
abl.	रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वाल्लोगन् से	or रमन्वन्लोग् से
gen.	रमन्वा कै, °के	रमन्वन् कै, °के	रमन्वाल्लोगन् कै, °के	or रमन्वन्लोग् कै, °के

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc.	रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोगन् मे or रमन्वन्लोग् मे
voc.	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोग् or हे रमन्वन्लोग्

c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौआ or रमौवाँ or रमौआँ.

nom.	रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोग्	or रमौवन्लोग्
acc.	रमौवा or रु° के	रमौवा or °वन् के	रमौवालोग् or °गन् के	or रमौवन्लोग् or रु °के
instr.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोगन् से	or रमौवन्लोग् से
dat.	रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोगन् के	or रमौवन्लोग् के
abl.	रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोगन् से	or रमौवन्लोग् से
gen.	रमौवा कै, °के	रमौवन् कै, °के	रमौवालोगन् कै, °के	or रमौवन्लोग् कै, °के
loc.	रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोगन् मे	or रमौवन्लोग् मे
voc.	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोग्	or हे रमौवन्लोग्

Note: The long and redundant forms in आ may be pronounced with a final *anunásika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै *of houses*, बाघन् कै *of tigers*, not घरलोगन् कै, बाघलोगन् कै.

2. Masculines in आ.

a) Short form: बेटा *son*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोग् or बेटन्लोग्
gen.	बेटा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटालोगन् कै, °के or बेटन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom.	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोग् or बेटन्वन्लोग्
gen.	बेटन्वा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वालोगन् कै, °के or बेटन्वन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.

nom.	बेटौवा	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोग् or बेटौवन्लोग्
gen.	बेटौवा कै, °के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटौवालोगन् कै, °के or बेटौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

3. Masculines in इ.

a) Short form: रिषि *rikhi patriarch*.

nom.	रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोग् or रिषिन्लोग्
gen.	रिषि कै, °के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषिलोगन् कै, °के, etc. or रिषिन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: रिबिया or रिबियाँ.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom.	रिबिया	रिबिया	रिबियाल्लोग्	or रिबियन्ल्लोग्
gen.	रिबिया कै, °के, etc.	रिबियन् कै, °के, etc.	रिबियाल्लोगन् कै, °के	or रिबियन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: रिबियवा or रिबियवाँ.

nom.	रिबियवा	रिबियवा	रिबियवाल्लोग्	or रिबियवन्ल्लोग्
gen.	रिबियवा कै, °के, etc.	रिबियवन् कै, °के, etc.	रिबियवाल्लोगन् कै, °के	or रिबियवन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form: भाई *brother*.

nom.	भाई	भाई	भाईल्लोग	or भाइन्ल्लोग्
gen.	भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईल्लोगन् कै, °के	or भाइन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: भइया or भैया or भइयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom.	भैया	भैया	भैयाल्लोग्	or भैयन्ल्लोग्
gen.	भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयाल्लोगन् कै, °के	or भैयन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom.	भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवाल्लोग्	or भैयवन्ल्लोग्
gen.	भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवाल्लोगन् कै, °के	or भैयवन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: तहु *tree*.

nom.	तहु	तहु	
gen.	तहु कै, °के, etc.	तहून् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

b) Long form: तहुवा or तहुआ or तहुवाँ or तहुआँ.

nom.	तहुआ	तहुआ	
gen.	तहुआ कै, °के, etc.	तहुअन् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

c) Redundant form: तहुअवा or तहुअवाँ.

nom.	तहुअवा	तहुअवा	
gen.	तहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	तहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

6. Masculines in ऊ.

a) Short form: नाऊ *barber*.

nom.	नाऊ	नाऊ	नाऊल्लोग्	or नाउन्ल्लोग्
gen.	नाऊ कै, °के, etc.	नाउन् कै, °के, etc.	नाऊल्लोगन् कै, °के	or नाउन्ल्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नउआ or नौआ or नौवा or नउआँ etc.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom.	नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोग्	or नौवन्लोग्
gen.	नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के	or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउअवा or नौअवा or नौअवाँ, etc.

nom.	नौअवा	नौअवा	नौअवालोग्	or नौअवन्लोग्
gen.	नौअवा कै, °के, etc.	नौअवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौअवालोगन् कै, °के	or नौअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

7. Feminines in अ.

a) Short form: बात् *word, thing, event.*

nom.	बात्	बात्	*deest.*
gen.	बात् कै, °के, etc.	बातन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: बतिया or बतियाँ.

nom.	बतिया	बतियो	*deest.*
gen.	बतिया कै, °के, etc.	बतियन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: बतियवा or बतियवाँ.

nom.	बतियवा	बतियवा	*deest.*
gen.	बतियवा कै, °के, etc.	बतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

8. Feminines in आ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgá.*

nom.	दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग्	or दुर्गन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom.	दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग्	or दुर्गियन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom.	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग्	or दुर्गियवन्लोग्
gen.	दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के	or दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि *fire.*

nom.	आगि	आगि	*deest.*
gen.	आगि कै, °के, etc.	आगिन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: अगिया or अगियाँ.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	अगिया	अगिया	
gen.	अगियाँ कै, °के, etc.	अगियन् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

c) Redundant form: अगियवा or अगियवाँ.

nom.	अगियवा	अगियवा	
gen.	अगियवा कै, °के, etc.	अगियवन् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी *staff.*

nom.	लाठी	लाठी	
gen.	लाठी कै, °के, etc.	*deest* (§ 362, exc.)	*deest.*

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom.	लठिया	लठिया	
gen.	लठिया कै, °के, etc.	लठियन् कै, के, etc.	*deest.*

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom.	लठियवा	लठियवा	
gen.	लठियवा कै, °के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.	*deest.*

11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू *daughter-in-law.*

nom.	बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or बहुन्लोग्
gen.	बहू कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहूलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom.	बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or बहुअन्लोग्
gen.	बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुअन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुअन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom.	बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or बहुअवन्लोग्
gen.	बहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवालोगन् कै, °के	or बहुअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड़ा *great*, lg. f. बड़क्का or बड़का, red. f. बड़क्कवा or बड़कवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड़ी, lg. f. बड़क्की or बड़की, red. f. बड़क्किया or बड़किया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गरू *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गरुक्का or गरुका, *fem.* गरुक्की or गरुकी, red. f. *masc.* गरुक्कवा or गरुकवा, *fem.* गरुक्किया or गरुकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in अ admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in अ and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., आ m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, ऊच् *high*, st. f. *masc.* ऊचा, *fem.* ऊची, etc. Adj. in ई and ऊ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and उ are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हलू *light*; the wk. f. भरि, हरु or हलु occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इउँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भरिउँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिउँका m., भरिउँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठ्वा (not सेठ्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best,* Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा आम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका आम् any sweet mangoe.

2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final आ to ई, and redundant adj. अवा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मीठ् *sweet,* छोट् *small,* etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy,* हल्लू *light,* etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मीठा, छोटा, *fem.* मीठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठक्का, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठक्की, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठकवा, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gḍs. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in आ (E. and S. Gḍ. and P.) or ओ or औ (W. and N. Gḍ.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कार *black,* M., P. काळा, G. काळो, S. कारो; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काळी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in आ. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gḍs.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gḍs. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु *half, fem.* अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* आध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* करति, of *masc.* करत् *doing,* in the 2. sg. pret. conj. करतिस् *if thou didst (fem.)*; or कइलि fem., of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् *thou didst*; करबि fem., of करब्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. करबिस् *thou wilt do,* etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in आ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gḍ.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and इया see § 262.

3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or ङ्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form,* nom. sg. ई मीठा आम् बाटै *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form,* acc. sg. ऊ मीटे आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; dir. f., nom. sg. ऊ मिठका आम् बाटै *that is a sweet mangoe*; obl. f., acc. sg. ऊ मिठके आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; dir. f., nom. sg. ओकर् अछा घोरा बाटै *his is a good horse*; obl. f., loc. sg. ऊ अछे घोरा पर् चऊल् बाटै *he is mounted on a good horse.* Again, dir. f., nom. pl. ई मीठा आम् बाटैं *these are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. ऊ मीटे आमन् के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. ऊ मिठका आम् बाटैं *those are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. ऊ मिठके आमन् के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. ओकर् अछा घोरा बाटैं *his are good horses*; obl. f., loc. pl. ऊ अछे घोरे पर् चऊल् बाटैं *they are mounted on good horses.*

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gḍs. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बड़े घोरा कै *of a big horse,* Br. बड़े घोड़ा कौ, M. बड़े घोड़्या चा; but Mw. बड़ा घोड़ा रो, G. बड़ा घोड़ा नो, P. बड़े घाड़े दा, S. बड़े घाड़े जो, B. बड़ा घोड़ा-र्, etc. In all Gḍs. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बड़े घोरन् कै *of big horses,* Br. बड़े घोड़ौं कौ, M. बड़े घोड़्यां चा, Mw. बड़ा घोड़ाँ रो, G. बड़ा घोड़ाव् नो, P. बड़े घोड़िआँ दा, S. बड़े घोड़ें जो

or बडेँ घोडेँ झो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gḍs.

4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. स), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् *all* in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोट् बर्द्दा से मोट् बर्द्दा अछा आटै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; ओह् से बडा *greater than he*; ई सब् से मिठका आम् आटै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी स अच्छी तर्कारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर् कै भात् *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बडका आटै *which is the elder one*; उ छोटका आटै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities.* In all Gḍs. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह् से बडा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड, O. ताहा-ठु बड, M. त्याहून् बडा, Br. वा सोँ बडो, Mw. उण् सूँ बडो, G. आ थी बडो, P. उह् ते बडा, S. हुन खाँ बडो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बडा *greatest*, B. सकल् हइते ब°, O. सकल-ठु ब°, M. सर्वाहून् ब°, Br. सब् सोँ ब°, Mw. सब् सूँ ब°, G. सभ थी ब°, P. सब् ते ब°, S. सभ खाँ ब°.

THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक्	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ्	22. बाइस्	42. बयालिस्	62. बासठि	82. बयासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैँतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौँसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच्	25. पचीस्	45. पैँतालिस्	65. पैँसठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छब्बिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छाछठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैँतालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्तासी
8. आठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अड़तालिस्	68. अड़सठि	88. अट्ठासी
9. नौ	29. अोनतिस्	49. अोनचास्	69. अोनहत्तर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर्	90. नब्बे
11. ऐगारह्	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐकहत्तर्	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह्	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर्	92. बानबे
13. तेरह्	33. तैँतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर्	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह्	34. चौँतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर्	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्द्रह्	35. पैँतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पचहत्तर्	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह्	36. छत्तिस्	56. छप्पन्	76. छिहत्तर्	96. छानबे
17. सतरह्	37. सैँतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सयत्तर्	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह्	38. अड़तिस्	58. अट्ठावन्	78. अठत्तर्	98. अट्ठानबे
19. अोनइस्	39. अोनतालिस्	59. अोनसठि	79. अोनसी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

1. यक्	5. पच्* or पाच्	11. इग्यारह् or ग्यारह्	38. अरतिस् or अड़तिस्	54. चौअन् or चउअन्
2. दो*				
3. तिन्* or तीन्	6. छ्* or छ	15. पनरह्	44. चवालिस् or चउआलिस्	55. पचपन्
4. चर्* or चार्	7. सत्*	24. चउबिस्	48. अरतालिस् or अड़तालिस्	67. सउसठि or सतसठि
	8. अठ्	30. तिस्*		68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्तर्	78. अठहत्तर् or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै ** or
75. पचहत्तर्	अठन्नत्तर् *	99. निन्नानबे or	सो ** or
77. सतहत्तर्	84. चवरासी	निन्यानबे	सल्

The final syllables °त्रिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled °त्रीस्, °तीस्, °लीस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तैंतिस् or तैंतीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 छाछठि or छाछठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 79 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक् सै एक	103. एक् सै तीन्	105. एक् सै पाँच्	210. दुइ सै दस्
102. एक् सै दुइ	104. एक् सै चार्	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै बीस्

300. तीन सै 1000. सहस्र्
400. चार् सै 100,000. लाख्
10,000,000. कोंरा

1874. एक् सहस्र् आठ् सै चौहत्तर्
2,154,210. ऐकइस् लाख् चौवन् सहस्र् दुइ सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाडा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उतर् *above,* the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओतर्); thus 108 is अठोतरसो, i. e., अठ + उतर् + सो *eight-above-hundred.* From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उतर्, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksāṭṭhásó*, 152 *bavānnáso*, 112 *barāháso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following:

101. ऐकोतरसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्तरसो
102. दिलोतरसो	118. अठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एकत्तरसो
103. तिलोतरसो	119. ओनैसासो	149. ओनचासासो	179. ओन्नासीसो
104. चलोतरसो	120. बीसासो	150. ऊनसौ	180. असीसो
105. पिचोतरसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐक्यवन्नासो	181. ऐक्यासीसो
106. छिलोतरसो	122. बइसासो	152. बवंन्नासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोतरसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोतरसो	124. चाब्बीसासो	154. चोवन्नासो	191. ऐक्यानबेसो
109. निगरोतरसो	125. पचीसासो	155. पनचौनासो	192. बानबेसो
110. दहोतरसो	126. छब्बीसासो	156. छपन्नासो	193. तिरानबेसो
111. ऐगरोतरसो	127. सतैसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानबेसो
112. बरहोतरसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानबेसो
113. तेरहोतरसो	129. ओनतीसासो	159. ओनसट्ठासो	196. छानबेसो, etc.
114. चौदहोतरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानबेसो
115. पनराहसो	131. ऐकतीसासो, etc.	161. ऐकसट्ठासो, etc.	200. दुइ सौ
116. सोराहासो	139. ओनतालसो	169. ओनहत्तरसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals:

101. इकोतरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. ओनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दियोतरसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. छियोतरसो	115. पन्दरहोतरसो	155. पचपन्नासो	165. पैंसठसो
108. अठोतरसो	116. सोरहोतरसो	159. ओनसाठसो	166. छाछठसो
111. इगरोतरसो	117. सतरहोतरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्तरिसो
112. बराहासो	118. अठरहोतरसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gḍs. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gḍ. differs from the W. and S. Gḍ., in the third the W. Gḍ. from the E. and S. Gḍ. — Firstly; in E. Gḍ. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अह्, इस् or ब्रिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gḍ. it is long (viz. अहँ or अहँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर्	तेर्	तेरह्	तेरा	तेरँ
14.	चौद्	चौद्ध	चौदह्	चौदा	चौदँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेईस्	तेई
24.	चविश्	चव्विश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली

	S.	M.	G.	H. H.
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	चउद्	चौदह्
23.	ट्रेवीह्	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेईस्
24.	चोवीह्	चौबीस्	चोवीश्	चौबीस्
32.	बट्टीह्	बत्तीस्	बत्रिश्	बतीस्
46.	पंत्रेतालीह्	पंचेचालीस्	पञ्चतालीश्	पैँतालीस्

Secondly; in E. Gḍ. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gḍ. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिंन	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार्	चार्	चार्	चार्	चारि	चार्
60.	साठिए	साठि	साठि	साठ्	संठ	साठ्	सठि	साठ्	साठ्

With regard to सत्तर् *seventy* alone, all Gḍ. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि सै *seven hundred.* — Thirdly; in W. Gḍ. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gḍ. either the conjunct त्त् or the whole increment चत्त् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकेचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचल्लिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह्	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयाल्लिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	बाएतालीह्	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेतालिश्	तेँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह्	तेँतालीश्
44.	चवेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयाल्लिश्	चौवालिस्	चौताली	चोएतालीह्	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पइँचालिग्र्	पयँतालिग्र्	पैँतालिस्	पैँताली	पंज्ञतालीह्	पग्रतालीग्र्
46.	छेचालीस्	छ्यालिग्र्	छ्चल्लिग्र्	छ्यालिस्	छ्िताली	छ्याएतालीह्	छ्ँतालीग्र्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिग्र्	सतचल्लिग्र्	सैँतालिस्	सैँताली	सतेतालीह्	सुउतालीग्र्
48.	अट्ठेचालीस्	अठचालिग्र्	अाठचल्लिग्र्	अऊतालिस्	अठताली	अठेतालीस	अउतालीग्र्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of बीस्, तीस्, लीस्, ज्ञास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वीह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्वीह् 30, S. ट्वेवीह् 23, बट्टीह् 32, P. तेई or त्रेई, बत्ती or बत्त्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंज्ञाह् 50, S. बावंज्ञाह्, P. बवंज्ञा 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साठ् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाहट्ठ, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes ठ् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्तर् 70, again, all Gḍs. agree in changing the initial स् to ह्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्तर् (= *एकअत्तर् = एकहत्तर्), E. H. एक्कत्तर् or एकहत्तर्, W. H. एकहत्तर्, P. इकहत्तर्, S. एकहत्तरि, M. एकाहत्तर्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= *एकसतुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिग् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिग्, P. इकत्ती or इकत्त्री, S. एकट्टीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिग्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्टीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चल्लिग् 40 and its compounds, as एकचल्लिग् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सष्ट 60 in compounds, as एकसष्ट 61, बासष्ट् 62, etc.; but साठ् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभेँ for नवेँ 90 in compounds, as इकानवेँ or इकानभेँ 91, etc.; but नव्वे or नब्बे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अहँ, while the others contract it to अँ or आ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारहँ, but P. बाराँ (= *बारअँ = *बारहँ), M. बारा, W. H. बारा, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार्.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एओ (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., ऐगूणत्तरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगूणत्तरसो 111. —

2. दुइ् regularly for Pr. दुए् (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. डूँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also बे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. बे and S. ब; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिण्णि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि् see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोण्णि, तिण्णि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or *द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gḍ. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तओ (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gḍ. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gḍ.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर् *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाचू, 7 सात्, 8 आठ् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट्ठ = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंज, P. सत्त, अट्ठ, S. सत, अठ, B. आट. — 6. छ, also Pr. छ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to छ् (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. छ; E. H. has a form छह् which occurs also in S. छह्, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह् (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. *छस or *छह् with final अ (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form छव् corresponding to B. छय्, O. छअ, W. H. and P. छे, with euphonic व् or य् for elided ह्; Pr. has also छअ see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नअ (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नअ and B. नय; P. नौँ and S. नँवँ add an anunásika. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह् (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह् (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gḍ. दह् or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. *एगारह,

E. H. ऐग्यारह or इग्यारह or ग्यारह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gḍ.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. अकरा have it not; while W. H. ग्यारह, P. गिग्यारहँ, G. अगिग्यार् have it. The other P. form एग्यारह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. यारहँ. The Pr. has also दस, रस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gḍ. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. वारह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. बारह, B., O., G. बार्, M., W. H. बारा, P. बारहँ, S. बारहँ. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)[1]), E. H. तेरह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउद्दह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पण्णरह (H. C. 2, 43, but पण्णरहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पन्रह (§ 392 and in पन्राहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पण्णारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gḍ. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् (§ 135), as E. H. पंद्रह, O. पंद्र्, W. H. पंद्रा, P. पंद्राँ, S. पंद्रहँ or पंधँ, M. पंधरा, G. पंद्र्. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोळा, P. सोलाँ, S. सोरहँ, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तरह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतरह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्ठारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अठार्, S. अठहँ (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gḍs., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. ऊनविंशतिः, Mg. ऊनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. ऊनिश्, O. उणाइश्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. ओगणीस्; the P. has उन्नीह and S. उणीह or उणिवीह with ह् for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) आ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptâ*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptâ* and *ashṭâ* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *êka, pâñcha, nâva, dâśa*, etc.; now Gḍ. has आ in सत्ताइस्, अठाइस्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकइस् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचीस् (for पचइस्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टाद्श, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तद्श, सप्तविं°, सप्तत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gḍ. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैँतिस्, 38 अडतिस्, 47 सैँतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसआ (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. बत्तीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double त्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैँतिस् regularly for Pr. तेत्तीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेह्तीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 पैँतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैँतीस्, P. पैँती, G. पैँत्रिश्; but M. पस्तीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंञ्चट्टीह्. — 37 सैँतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैँतीस्, P. सैँती, B. साँइत्रिश्; but M. सद्तीस् or सततीस्, G. साउत्रिश्, S. सतट्टीह्. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अट्ठतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिश्, B. आठत्रिश्, S. अठट्टीह्, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अडतीस्, E. H. अठतिस् (§ 113) or अडतिस् or अतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आउत्रिश्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एक्कचत्तालीसा or (eliding च) *एकअत्तालीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह्, which is contracted from एकयतालीह् with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying °तालिस् with °चालिस्, assumes a changes of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्तालीसा = एकचअालीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेँतालिस् (see § 152), 49 ओनतालिस्, 45 पैँतालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैँतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अडयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct त्त *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gḍ. forms: 42 बयालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 छियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gḍs. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. *पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंञ्जाह् and S. पंञ्जाह्. The common Pr. form is पण्णासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6th decade of all Gḍs., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बाअन्, B. बाउन्, M. बावन्न, Pr. वावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्न, Pr. *सत्तावणा or °णं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अट्ठावन्न, Pr. *अट्ठवणं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्न, Pr. पंचावणा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान्न 57, आठान्न 58, पंचान्न 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form *पंचप्पणा. There is another Pr. form पणावणा (H. C. 2, 174) or पणावन्नं (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gḍ. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. छप्पन्, O., G. छपन्, B. छापान्न, M. छपन्न, Pr. *छप्पणा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्न, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान्न presuppose a Ap. Pr. form *तिप्पणा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवण्णा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gḍ.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्न, regularly for Pr. *चउप्पणा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौअन् or चउअन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान्न the conjunct प्प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 ओनचास्, with the syllable प *pa* elided, precisely as च *cha* in ओनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. ऊनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. ऊणावंचासा or ऊणपंचासा, whence B. ऊनपंचास्, G. ओगणपचाश्, S. उणिावंञ्जाह्, P. उणावंञ्जा or उणांञ्जा, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. ओनचास्; but M. regularly एकुणपन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. द्वेवंञ्जाह्, P. तिवंञ्जा or तिरवंञ्जा 53; S. चोवंञ्जाह्, P. चोवंञ्जा or चुवंञ्जा 54; S. पंञ्जवंञ्जाह्, P. पंचवंञ्जा 55; S. छवंञ्जाह्, P. छिपंञ्जा or छिवंञ्जा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साठ्, P. सट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिए adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सष्ट, S. हठि and P. हट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इक्काहट, 62 in O. बाअसठि with अ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसठ् or तिरसठ्, M. त्रेसष्ट, P. तेहट् or त्रेहट्, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयँसठि, M. पाँसष्ट, W. H. पैँसठ्, P. पैँहट्, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाठ्, S. पंजहठि; 66. O. छअसठि, M. सासष्ट, S. छाहठि, W. H. छियासठ्, P. छिआहट्, B. छसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सउसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट, W. H. सरसठ्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सत्ताहट्; 68. E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अडसष्ट or अडुसष्ट, W. H. अउसठ् or अरसठ्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्, B. आठसठि; 69. B. ऊनसत्तर्, all others regularly °हत्तर्, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वावट्ठि, 64 चोयट्ठी (but also चउसट्ठी), 66 छावट्ठि, and even 61 एगट्ठि, 67 सत्तट्ठि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्तर् see § 108; so also in the other Gḍs. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाअस्तुरि, B. बाहात्तर्, S. बाहत्तरि, M. बाहत्तर्; 73. M. त्रेहत्तर् or त्र्याहत्तर्, B. तेहात्तर्, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौर्याहत्तर्; 75. M. पंचेहत्तर्; 76. O. छअस्तुरि, B. छेयात्तर्, S. छाहत्तरि, M. छाहत्तर् or छेहत्तर् (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्तर्, M. सत्याहत्तर् or सत्तेहत्तर्, P. सतत्तर्; 78. B. आठात्तर्, P. अठत्तर्, M. अठ्याहत्तर् or अठ्ठेहत्तर्. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्सी with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. एँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gḍs. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्यासी, M. एक्यायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. बियाशी, M. ब्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. बयाशी, B., E. H., W. H. बयासी. — 86. O. छयाशी, M. शायँशी, S. छहासी; 83. M. त्र्यायँशी, G. तेआसी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्यांशी; 87. M. सत्त्यायँशी; 88. M. अठ्यायँशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुणनव्वद्, B. ऊननब्बइ, O. ऊणानउ, P. उणानवे, S. उणानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउइ (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नबे, B. नब्बइ, M. नव्वदू, W. H. नव्वे, S. नवे, P. नव्वे or नब्बे; these Gḍ. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form *नव्वए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विआनवे, M. ब्याण्णव; 93. S. त्रिआनवे, M. त्र्याण्णव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चोरानवे, M. चौर्याण्णव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउए 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानबे, S. सतानवे, M. सत्याण्णव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. निआनबुइ, M. नव्याण्णव (with euph. य् see § 135) for Skr. नवनवतिः; the E. H. and W. H. निनानबे or नियानबे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नउिन्नवे॑ or नउिन्नभे॑ (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानवे or वधानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेशत्, perhaps for Skr. ऊनशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. श, O. शये, M. शे॑ is the Mg. Pr. सअं or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर्, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gḍ. preserves it; e. g., 107 सत्तुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15[a]), S. सतोत्तरसौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पंतोत्तरसौ, E. H. पिचोतरसो (§ 55); 106. S. छहोत्तरसौ, E. H. छियोतरसो or छिलोतरसौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोतरसौ (for चुलो°, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसौ, 103 E. H. तिलोतरसो or तियो°, S. त्रिरोतरसौ, 102 E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियो° (see § 69), S. बिरोतरसौ, M. दुव्वोत्तरशे॑ are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षडुत्तरशतं, चतुरुत्तर°, त्र्युत्तर°, द्व्युत्तर°. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोतरसो 107 (for *सतोतरसो) and निगरोतरसो 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासो, S. बारहो सौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासो, S. पन्द्राहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second अ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. ट्रीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. ट्रीहो सौ 130, i. e., *100 plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहाँ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीनि *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच् जर्मन् कै *of five men*, दुइ जनन् कै *of two men*, तीनि जनन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोंहो, तिहों, चोहो for दोन् *two*, तीन् *three* and चार् *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोघे m., दोघी f., दोघें n. *two*; similarly तिघे, तिघी, तिघें *three*, चौघे, चौघी, चौघें *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोंहो चा or दोघाँ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी, ट्रिनि or ट्री, चइनि or चई for ब *two*, ट्रे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि ज़ो *of two*, पंजनि ज़ो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr, 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहें बैरिएँ खे *to ten enemies*; बिनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिएँ खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुनहुन् the conjunct न्ह् has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for *दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोण्हं or बेण्हं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिण्हं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, ट्री or slightly modified बिनि, ट्रिनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोंहो would presuppose the Pr. form *दोण्हहुं or *दोण्हण्ह, etc.

2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईं (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First,* wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second,* wk. f. दूसर् or दुसर्ब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसर्वाँ or दुसर्का m., °री or °रईं or °रकी f.; *third,* wk. f. तीसर् or तिसर्ब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसर्वाँ or तिसर्का m., °री or °रईं or °रकी f.; *fourth,* wk. f. चउथ् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथवाँ or चौथर्का m., °थी or °थईं or °रकी f.; *sixth,* wk. f. छठ्ब् c. g., or st. f. छठा or छठ्वाँ m., छठी or छठ्ईं f.; *fifth,* wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईं f.; *seventh,* wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईं f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh.* Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै *of the first,* दसवेंं कै *of the tenth*; fem. पहिली कै, दसईंं कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै *of the first one,* pl. पहिलन् कै *of the first ones*; but पहिले जन् कै *of the first man,* पहिले जनन् कै *of the first men,* etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (Ṣ. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or °लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरोंं or पेहेर्योंं or पहर्योंं. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (*chauthŏ*) or चौथा (Ṣ. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथौ (Br.) or चोथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चोथो, S. चोथोंं. — The E. H. छठा, B. and O. *deest,* W. H. छठौ or छठो, G. छटो are derived from Pr. छठ्ठो, st. f. of Pr. छट्ठो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. छेवाँ, S. छहोंं are formed anomalously (as if Skr. *षण्मः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. छे, S. छह. The E. H.

forms इठवाँ, दुसरबू or दुसरवाँ anomalously contain the suff. अबू or अवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. अका (see § 198). The form चौथरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आँई॰, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं
2. दूनी
3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति
4. चौक् or चौका
5. पचा or पचे or पुरे
6. इक् or इक्का or इक्के or इाक्
7. सते
8. अठे or आठ्
9. नवाँ or नवाँई॰
10. दहाँ or दहाँई॰, etc.

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five.* The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै॰ *five,* i. e., when it is fifty, or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five,* पंदरह् *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ्, इक् or इाक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् इके साठि
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ

3 × 1 is 3, etc.

तीन् के तीन्	तीन् इाक् अठारह्
तीन् दूती इ	तीन् सते एकइस्
तीन् त्रिका नौ	तीन् अठे चौबिस्
तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
तीन् पचे पंदरह्	तीन् दहाँई॰ तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह् के तेरह्	तेरह् छाक् अठनत्तर्
तेरह् टूनी छब्बिस्	तेरह् सते ऐक्यानब्बे
तेरह् ति वनतालिस्	तेरह् आठ् चलोतरसो
तेरह् चौका बावन्	तेरह् नवाँ सतराहाँसो
तेरह् पुरे पैँसठि	तेरह् दहाँई॰ तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक्	चर् के चार्	सत् के सात्	दहाँई॰ दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अठ् के आठ्	
तिन् के तीन्	छ के छह्	नवाँई॰ नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार् पचे बीस्	सातै पुरे पैँतिस्	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आठ् पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह् पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंद्रह्	छ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैँतालिस्	बारह् पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in आ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four.*

4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair,* चौकरा or °री or गंडा *a four,* गाही *a five,* कोडी *a score,* सैकरा *a hundred,* सहस्र् *a thousand,* लाख् *a hundred thousand,* कोँरा or करोर् *ten millions.* Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score,* तीसा *a thirty,* चलीसा *a forty,* also एका *a one,* पंचा *a five,* सता *a seven,* अठा *a eight,* नवाँ *a nine,* दहाँ *a ten,* etc. The multiplicatives टूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, छाक् or छक्का may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gḍs., though they are not noticed by all Gḍ. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, बिको 2, ट्रिको 3, चउँको or चउँकु or चउँकञो 4, पंञो 5, छको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँञो 9, उहो or उहाको 10, वीहो or वीहारो or विहारो or कोञो 20, ट्रीहो or ट्रीहारो or ट्रिहारो 30, चाल्लीहो or चाल्ल्यारो (for *चालीहारो) 40, पंञाहो or पञाही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिञो 100, सहासु or हञारु 1000 (Tr. 168), लाखु 100000, कोरु or किरोडि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउँ 1, टूणी 2, तिग्राउँ or तिग्राऊँ 3, चौका 4, पाँञा 5, छका 6, साता 7, ग्राठा 8, नाइग्राँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोञी or बीहञो or वीहा 20, पंञाहा 50, सैकञा 100, सहसरु or हञारु 1000, लक्ख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, टूना or टूनी or ञोञा or ञोञी 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंञा 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोञी or बीसा 20, सैकञा 100, सहस्र or हञारु 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. ग्रा), as बतीसी *a thirty two,* पचीसी *a fifty,* etc. In M. सहस्र or हञारु 1000, लाख् 10000, कोट or क्रोड् 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gḍ. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit,* Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कग्रं, E. H. एका; *triad,* Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिग्रं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score,* Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसग्रं, E. H. बीसा; *hexad,* Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. छक्कं, E. H. छाक्; *quaternion,* Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad,* Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचग्रं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad,* E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिग्रग्रं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कग्रं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion,* E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कग्रं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad,* E. H. छक्का, Pr. छक्कग्रं, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions,* E. H. कोंरा or कोंञा, Pr. कोडिग्रं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or *कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or ञा, see § 209) is superadded; as *four,* E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकञो, Ap. Pr. चउक्कउउ, Skr. चतुष्क°; *hundred,* E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकञो, Ap. Pr. सयक्कउउ, Skr. शतक°, etc.; perhaps also E. H. ञोरा, W. H. ञोञो, Ap. Pr. *ञुग्रउउ (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विज्ञं = Skr. विद्वान्),

Skr. द्विक°, though this might be a noun derived from the R. जुट् or जुड् *join*. Sometimes the „collective" sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. आई (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवाई *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउपात्रं (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणाकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोड़ see §§ 138. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गाही, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोड़ी *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौड़ी, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threefold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities.* The reduplicatives exist in all Gḍs. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंजौहरा or पंजउहरा, 6 छेओरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal" suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंजौहरम *quintuple*, just as पंजमाँ or पंजवाँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 ट्रिहर or ट्रिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुप्पट, 3 तिप्पट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लड़ा *string*, e. g., 3 तिलड़ा, 4 चौलड़ा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi*-suff. विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. र (see § 209, or in S. आर्), arises the E. H. हरा. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउव्विह, 5 पंचविह, 6 छव्विह, or contracted 1 एगाहिय, 2 वेहिय, 3 तेहिय (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउ or वेहु, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर्. The S. form बिहार् presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहअहु, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gḍ. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi*-suff. ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

1/2 *आध् or *आधा	1/16 सोरही or सोरहिया
1/3 तिहाई or तिहइया or तिहैया	1 1/4 *सवा or सवाई or सवइया or सवैया
1/4 *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथइया or चौथैया	1 1/2 *डेढ़ or डेढा or डेढे or देढ़ or देढा or देढे
	2 1/2 *आढा or अढाई or अढइया or अढैया
1/10 दहाई or दहइया or दहैया	3/4 पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक् पाउ सेर् *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर् or आधा सेर् *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर् *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर् *one ser and a quarter*; डेढ़ सेर् *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर् *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर् *two sers and one quarter*; आढा सेर् or अढाई सेर् *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर् *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. आधी (§ 384), and obl. form आधे (§ 386). Thus आधी रात्ति *midnight*, आधे माग् मे *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities.* These fractionals occur in all Gḍs., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus 1/4, W. H. पाओ or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चोथे or चोथाई or चोथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौथि or सिकि, O. पा or पाए; 1/3, W. H., P. तिहाई, S. ट्रिहाई, B. तिहाइ; 1/2, W. H. आधू or आधौ, P. अढ or अढा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अधो, M. अर्धा, B. आधू or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अध or अर्ध or अर्धक्; 3/4, W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाऊण; 1/4, W. H. सवा or सम or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया; 1 1/2, W. H. डेढ़ or डौढा or डेओढा, P. डेढ़ or ड्रूढ़ or ड्रूढा or डेउढा, S. डेढु or डेढे, G. डोढ, M. दीड़, B. देढ़, O. देढ़; 2 1/2, W. H. अढाई or ढामा or ढाम्, P. ढाई or ढाइआ or ढाया, S. अढाई, G. अढी or हडी, B. अढाई, O. अढाइ; 3 1/2, W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. ऊठा or ऊँटा or ऊटा; 4 1/2, W. H. ढोँचा, P. ढौँचा (or पौचा?); 5 1/2, W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?); 6 1/2, W. H. छोँचा; 7 1/2, W. H. सतोँचा. Again *minus* 1/4, W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or सुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणे or पावणे; *plus* 1/4, W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सव्वा, B. सउया, O. सउआइ; *plus* 1/2, W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साढु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. Ṣ. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation.* आधू or आधा regularly for Pr. अड्ढो or अड्ढओ, Skr. अर्ढः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, दूहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाओ) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाओ, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाय् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाइ, Mg. सवाए or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सड्ढो, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाओणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद् + ऊन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देढा or डेढा, आढा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus $3^1/_2$ is in Mg. Pr. अड्ढु° (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for. अड्ढोठ्ठु° = अड + अउठ्ठु° = अड + चउठ्ठु° (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थ° lit. *half-fourth.* The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सत्तुत्तरं for सत्तोत्तरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अड्ढोठ्ठु° is changed to अह्होठ्ठु° (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूँटा or (dropping ह्) the P. ऊठा or ऊँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again $2^1/_2$ is in Mg. Pr. अड्ढाइज्जा (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अड्ढअइज्जा or अड्ढ + अइज्जा = अड्ढ + तइज्जा (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तइज्जो) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third.* An alternative Pr. form of तइज्जा is तइआ (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अड्ढअइआ or contracted अड्ढाइआ or E. H. अढाई or अढइया or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढाइआ or ढाई. Similarly $4^1/_2$ must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth,* Ap. Pr. अड्ढवंचउ or contracted अड्ढौंचउ, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौँचा, W. H. ढोँचा. Similarly $1^1/_2$ would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अड्ढदुइए (or *अड्ढदिवइए), and transposing अड्ढ° and °दुइ° (or *दिव), दिवड्ढे, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देढ or डेढ, M. दीड or G. डेढ or P. डेउढा and डूढा or W. H. उौढ़ा. — The forms पौँचा, खोँचा, सतोँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौँचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with ऊँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ख् of खोँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ष् in the Skr. षष्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the व् of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. ठामा or ठाम corresponding to P. ठाया or ठाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times,* तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच् गुना *five times,* etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice,* तिगुना *thrice,* चौगुना *four times.*

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gḍs. Thus B. दुइगुण् 2, etc. (Ṣ. Ch. 109), O. तिनि गुण् 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूणा or दूणो 2, तीउणा or तिगुणा 3, चौणा or चौगुणा 4, पचौणा or पंजौणा 5, छिअौणा or छिगुणा 6, सतौणा or सतगुणा 7, अठौणा or अठगुणा 8, नौणा or नौगुणा 9, दसौणा or दसगुणा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेकूणो 1, बीणो 2, ट्रीणो 3, चउणो or चौणो 4, पंजूणो 5, छहूणो 6, सतूणो 7, अठूणो 8, नउणो 9, उहूणो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once,* बीटो *twice,* which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण्; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणाअं, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणाअं, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउग्गुणाअं, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two.*

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (Ṣ. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gḍs., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gḍ. word घाइट् (Ṣ. Ch. 110).

9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each.* Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मनन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिहलेस् or ब्राह्मनन् पाछे दुइ प° दि° *he gave the Brâhmans two paisás each.* Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि° *he gave two to each.*

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gḍs.; thus B. दश् दश् or दश् दश् करिया *by tens* (Ṣ. Ch. 108. 245), 'O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश् टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (Ṣ. Ch. 245).

10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओँ; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनोँ दिन् *the three days*; चारोँ बाह्मन् *the four Brâhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारोँ of चारि *four*, साठोँ of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंद्रह् or दस् बीस् *about ten* or *any number between ten and fifteen* or *between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आठ् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gḍs. As to B. see Ṣ. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or थान्, गाछ् to a numeral (S. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes खनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिश् or B. खान् त्रिश् or S. द्रिंहारो खनु *about thirty.* — The B. खान् or थान्, S. खनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post,* which becomes in Pr. थाणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खम्भू (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गाटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap,* and गाछ् probably the Skr. गच्छ् *a progression.*

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1st pers. are, dir. sg. मैं *I,* obl. sg. मो or मों, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2nd pers. are, dir. sg. तैं *thou,* obl. sg. तो or तों, dir. pl. तूँ *you,* obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. ऋनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we,* तोह्नी *you.*

Note: The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2nd pers. would be *तोहन् *you.* From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोह्नी, to which would correspond the strong masc. *हमना and *तोह्ना, obl. *हमने and *तोह्ने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense [1]). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gḍs.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मैं (Bh.) or मइँ or मयँ (Bs.), M. मी, N. मैं or मोँ; also H. H. मैं. It is quite different in the W. Gḍs., viz. W. H. हौं (Br.) or होँ (Kn.) or हूँ (Mw.), P. हउँ, G. हुँ, S. ह्याँउँ or ह्याँ (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gḍs., viz. W. H. and P. मैं, S. मूँ or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मैं सूँ *from me,* P. मै थोँ, S. मूँ खाँ or माँ खाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मैं, G. मेँ, S. मूँ or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form ह्याँ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउँ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gḍs.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मैं or मे (Br.) or मैं or म्हैं or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.) [2]), P. मे or मै, S. मूँ or माँ or मुहुँ [3]), G. म or मा or मेँ [4]), M. म or मीँ or म्याँ [5]), N. म or मैं or मोँ or मे [6]). — There are, then, in Gḍ. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हौं, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मैं, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ को.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मेँ in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मी and म्याँ only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मैं only in the act. मैं ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. हउँ (H. C. 4, 375) or हमुं (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or हमु (Md. अस्मद्दो हमु सुना सार्द्धं । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हमु भणामि ॥, i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; hamu bhanami *I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अहम्, which becomes in Pr. अहं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अहअं (Vr. 6, 40) or *हअं. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to हउं in Ap. Pr.[1]), and this becomes in P. हउँ, in Br. हौं, in Kn. हों, in Mw. हूँ, in G. हुँ. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms मइ or मह (H. C. 3, 113) or महु (H. C. 4, 379). The form मइ is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that मइ is a curtailment of *महि (see § 126) and the three forms *महि, महु and मह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for हे and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms मइं (for *महिं, cf. § 126), महुं and महं (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)[2]). Now the Ap. मइ or *महि is modified in O. to मुहि

1) Ls. 330 explains the form अहअं as = अहमं, analogous to Pr. तुमं and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. from हमु; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for हउं. It appears to me more probable that अहअं is the regular strong form of अहं, and equal to *अहकं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अहके (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form हके or हगे (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form *हअं and the Ap. हउं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अअं (अकं) changes to अउं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has मइं according to H. C. 4, 377, but मइ according to Md. मइ ङिटाम्भिः । मइ । मयि मया मां वार्थः ॥ again it has महु according to H. C. 4, 379, but महुं according to K. I. and Md. ङसिङस्मां मज्झमहुंमहा । त्रयः

or मुइ, in B. मुइ, in Bs. म्वहि (for *मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुइ), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मी. The Ap. मइं is in Bs. मइँ or मयँ, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मैं, in M. मीं or म्याँ (for में, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो[1]) (for *मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. H., N. मों and in S. मुहुँ (in assimilation to तुहुँ) or मूँ. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121[2])), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्ह; and the Pr. महं is in S. मँ. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically superadded to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1st pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gḍ. In all Gḍs. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुइ, in O. तु or तुइ or तुहि, E. H. तइँ or तयँ (Bs.) or तैं (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै or तैं or तूँ (Br.) or तूँ or थूँ (Mw.), P. तूँ, S. तूँ, M. तूँ, G. तुँ; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तों (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वाँ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तैं or तँ[3]), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तैं or ते (Br.) or थो or थैं or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वो or त्वै (Gw., Km.)[4]), P. तै or ते, S. तो or तुहुँ[5]), G. त or तु or तें or

स्यु: ॥ and in the *Nágara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात्। महुं घरु सुन्दरु। चकारान् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मेह समपन सा करिहि सु केमं ॥ *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) तैं only in the act. तैं ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरो (Br.), थारो (Mw.), तू and तैं only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैं ने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तैं सूँ or थैं सूँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहुँ only in the gen. तुहुँ गो.

तुँ or ता[1]), M. तूँ or त्वाँ or तु[2]). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for *तहि or *तहिं, *तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं[3]), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह[4]) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरौ, Mw. थारो *thine* for Ap. *तहारउ, just as Br. मेरौ, Mw. मारो or म्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or *तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or *तहिं in Bs. तइँ or तयँ, Bh., Br., N. तैं, Mw. थैं, G. तें, N. तँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or *तहु becomes

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1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तें and तूँ only in the act. तें or तुँ ए, त or तु in the acc. त ने or तु ने.

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mṛ. तइं ङिटाम्भिः। एभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात्। तइं। त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mṛ. ङिङसिङसां तुहतुज्झतम्भतुब्भाः स्युः॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mṛ. युष्मदस् तुहं। युष्मद इत्यधिकारः। सुनेत्येव। तुहुं सोअसि॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं जो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थैं or थ (contr. for *तहिं, *तह); and the forms in इं (= *हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मइं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो[1]), and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form *तहुं is preserved in the E. H. तों or त्वाँ, M. त्वाँ (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gḍ. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तूँ, Mw. तूँ or थूँ, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically supperadding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे (ज्ञो), abl. तोहाँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. एँ and ञाँ (or हेँ, हाँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2nd pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gḍ.; Pr., however, has वम्हं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gḍ. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gḍ. are: B. आमि or आम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, आम-रा), O. आम्मे, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. आम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हें or म्हैं (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and P. आसीं. The various Gḍ. obl. forms are: B. आमा, O. आम्म or अम्मन (the latter only in the dat. अम्माङ्कु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हाँमी, M. आम्हा or आम्ही (only act.) or आम् (only in the gen. आम्चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमौं or हमैं (Br.) or मां or म्हां (Mw.) or हमुं (Gw.)[2]), G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असीं, S. असां or असांहें or असांहूं. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हाणं, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हहं, which may be spelled also अम्म° (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

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1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय् बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father*, etc.

2) हमैं only in the dat. and acc. हमैं कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अम्हे; and अम्ह, अम्हे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अम्हे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)[1]). The Pr. अम्हे or अम्हे becomes आम्हे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and म्हे in Mw.; and the Pr. अम्ह becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अम्हि or अम्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अम्हे (or अम्हे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Md. अहम् अर्थे अम्मिहुंममाः। अम्मि पसिदु (?)। एवं हुंमम (?)). It has only survived in the B. आमि *I.* As to the second Pr. set अम्हाणं or अम्माणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अम्ह or अम्म (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्मन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हहं, अम्हइं, to which must be added a form *अम्हहुं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अम्ह. The form अम्हहिं or (dropping ह) अम्हइं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)[2]), but in Gd. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिँ and contracted in Br. हमैँ, H. H. हमेँ, Mw. म्हैँ, M. अम्हीँ or अम्ही, N. हाँमी. The form *अम्हहुं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौँ, H. H. हमोँ, Gw. हमुँ. The Ap. form अम्हहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हाँ or माँ or (dropping the *anunásika*) in B. आमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हमा, G. अमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with सू

1) H. C. allows both अम्हे and अम्हइं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हे to the nom. and अम्हइं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Md. allows both अम्भे and अम्भइं to the nom., but only अम्भइं to the acc., thus अम्भइ इति जश्शस्योः। अम्भइ अक्खु पेक्ख वा। अम्भे च जसा। अम्भे भणामु। चकारादु अम्भइं च॥.

2) H. C. has only अम्हइं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Md. has both अम्महिं and अम्भइं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्भइं अम्महि अम्भो अम्भाहिं अम्भेहिम् इति च भिसा। पञ्च स्युः। अम्भइ भणिदु। एवमन्यानि॥.

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स्म् of the Skr. base अस्म to स्स् instead of to म्ह् or म्म्[1]). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gḍ. forms; thus P. and S. असीँ is analogous to M. अम्हीँ and would presuppose a Pr. form *अस्सहिं or *अस्सइं; and the P. असा, S. असाँ to P. हमा, Mw. म्हाँ, presupposing Pr. *अस्सहं. In the S. असाँहेँ and असाँहूँ the obl. suff. हेँ, हूँ (for एँ, ऊँ) are pleonastically supperadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्भ (= Skr. युष्म) for अम्ह or अम्भ. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gḍ. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइं (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) *तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अम्मि). In Gḍ. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्भे (a), E. H. (a) तूँ (Bh., for तूहूँ) or तोह् or तोँह् or (a) तुम्ह् (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) थे or (c) थैँ (Mw., for *तहे or *तहैँ, with अ for उ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्ही (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमी (with इ for अ or उ, as in Br. तिहारौ *yours*), S. (c) तव्हीँ or तवीँ or तहीँ or तईँ or (c) अव्हीँ or अवीँ or अहीँ or अँईँ or अँइँ, P. (c) तुसीँ (for Pr. *तुस्सइँ). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्भ or (b) तुम्भन् (only in the dat. तुम्भङ्कु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोँह् (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हौँ or (c) तुम्हैँ

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्सिं or सव्वम्मि or सव्वहिं for *सव्वम्हिं *in all*), but only म्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवम्मि *in god*); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form ँसि *ṃsi* or सि *si* even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gḍs. The Páli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुमुँ (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) थँ (Mw., for *तहँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारो) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमी, S. (d) तव्हाँ or तवाँ or तहाँ or ताँ or (d) अव्हाँ or अवाँ or अहाँ or आँ, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. *तुस्हं) or (d) तुहा or थुआ or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the उ of the Pr. तुम्हइं is changed to अव् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि *to thee* for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्ही; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवी or तही; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set अव्ही, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms*: viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मज् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मज, W. H. मुज, H. H. मुझ् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुज् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तज्, H. H. तुझ् or तुके, P. तुध्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मज्झ (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मज्झु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुज्झ (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुज्झु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध्र (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मज्झ and तुज्झ are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मज्झ or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मज्झम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मज्झाणं or अम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मज्झसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gḍ. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मज्झ, तुज्झ become H. H. मुझ्, तुझ्, M. मज्, तुज् (with ज् for झ्, § 145, note). And Gḍ. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा *horse*). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माकें n., and तुका, तुकी, तुकें. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सों or हमरा सों, just as M. माकूया हून्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माकूयाँत्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक् are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह्, तुह् for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मक्ष = मइक or तुहइय = तुक्ष or तुरह् (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुरहे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृश *like me,* त्वादृश *like thee,* which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्दिह् = मइक, तुद्दिह् = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृश, and S. has इको = इञहो = ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुद्ह = त्वादृश, and the ऋ in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. ऋ of दृश[1]). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. *मस्य and *त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह् or महि, तुह् or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य् ever changing to क्क् in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोर् बाप् or rarely मोरा बाप् *my father,* but मोरे बाप कै *of my father*; हमार् माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother,* but हमरी माई कै *of our mother,* etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह्-ञ, and तुक = तुह्-ञ and तुध = तुह्-द्; ञ and द् being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khaṛi bhásha* this is restricted to the loc., as मो मे or मोरे मे *in me*, हम मे or हमरे मे *in us*, etc.

432a. 1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैँ *I*, हम् *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	मैँ	हम्	हमलोग्
a., d.	मो के or मोँ के	हम् के	हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के
i., abl.	मो से or मोँ से	हम् से	हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से
gen.	मोर् or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमार् or हमरा, °री, °रे	हमलोग् कै, के or हमलोगन् कै, के
loc.	मो मे or मोँ मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मँ हीँ or मँ हूँ *even I*.

	Singular.		Plural.	
nom.	मँ हीँ	मँ हूँ	हम हीँ	हम हूँ
a., d.	मोही के	मोहू के	हम हीँ के	हम हूँ के
i., abl.	मोही से	मोहू से	हम हीँ से	हम हूँ से
gen.	मोरै or मोरे ही	मोरौ or मोरे हूँ	हमरै or हमरे ही	हमरौ or हमरे हूँ
loc.	मोही मे or मोरै मे or मोरे ही मे	मोहू मे or मोरौ मे or मोरे हू मे	हम हीँ मे or हमरै मे or हमरे ही मे	हम हूँ मे or हमरौ मे or हमरे हूँ मे

432b. 2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तैँ *thou*, तूँ *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	तैँ	तूँ	तूँलोग्
a., d.	तो के or तोँ के	तोह् के	तूँलोग् के or तूँलोगन् के
i., abl.	तो से or तोँ से	तोह् से	तूँलोग् से or तूँलोगन् से
gen.	तोर् or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहार् or तोहरा, °री, °रे	तूँलोग् कै, के or तूँलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तो मे or तोँ मे or तोरे मे	तोह् मे or तोहरे मे	तूँलोग् मे or तूँलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तँ हीँ or तँ हूँ *even thou*.

	Singular.		Plural.	
nom.	तँ हीँ	तँ हूँ	तूँ हीँ or तुँह ईँ	तूँ हूँ or तुँहऊँ
a., d.	तोही के	तोहू के	तुँहईँ के	तोहऊ के
i., abl.	तोही से	तोहू से	तुँहईँ से	तोहऊ से
gen.	तोरै or तोरे ही	तोरौ or तोरे हू	तोहरै or तोहरे ही	तोहरौ or तोहरे हू
loc.	तोही मे or तोरै मे or तोरे ही मे	तोहू मे or तोरौ मे or तोरे हू मे	तुँहईँ मे or तोहरै मे or तोहरे ही मे	तोहऊ मे or तोहरौ मे or तोहरे हू मे

Note: हौ and हू may or may not be spelled हौँ, हूँ; also हम and तुँह may be spelled हमँ and तुँहँ before हीँ and ईँ (see § 67); e. g., हमँ हीँ के *to us*, तुँहँ ईँ के *to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be तोहारै, हमारै, etc.

2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term. „correlative pronoun" I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. ई, (also यह or emphatic ऐहै or इहै or इहई), obl. sg. ए or ऐह् (or emph. ऐही), pl. ऐन्ह (or emph. ऐन्हही); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ऊ (also वह or emph. ओहै or उहै or उहई), obl. sg. ओ or ओह् (or emph. ओही), pl. ओन्ह् (or emph. ओन्हही); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहई), obl. sg. ते or तेह् (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह् (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. जे (or emph. जेहै or जिहई), obl. sg. जे or जेह् (or emph. जेही), pl. जेन्ह् (or emph. जेन्हही); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. के (or emph. केहै or किहई), obl. sg. के or केह् (or emph. केही), pl. केन्ह् (or emph. केन्हही); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. के or केहू, obl. sg. or pl. के or केहू. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. का, obl. का or काहे, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. काहे is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus का करैलह् *what do you do*, का घर् मे *in what house*, काहे से खइबे *with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form से *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of ते, but has no emph. forms to express which तेहै, तिहई are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. अन् (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, जउने or जौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, जउनी or जौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms *तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities.* In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a*, *a* denote forms of the same group, *a*, *á* or *á*, *a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; *dir. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (*α*) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or इह or यह् or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह् or यहु or इहु or Mw. (*α*) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or आ (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह् or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) ही or हे (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीअ or हिअ (fem.) or (*α*) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इआ or ईआ (fem.) or (e) इणे (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), ही (fem.), हे (neut.); N. (*α*) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (*α*) इहा or (c) ईंहा, O. (*α*) इहा or एहा or एह्ाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह् or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इण or ईं or (*γ*) इणो or अणो or H. H. (b) इस् or (*β*) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) ह्या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or ह्यास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (*α*) ये or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह् or यह् or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह् or (*α*) ये or यै or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एह् or अह; S. (a) ही or हे or (*α*) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एओ; M. (a) हे (masc.), ह्या

(fem.), हीँ (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्ह्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन्ह् or Bs. यन्ह् or इन्ह् or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हौँ (or इन्हेँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or ग्राँ or (c) इग्राँ or ग्रपाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) ग्रहाँ or (c) इनीँ or इन्हीँ or एन्हीँ or एनीँ (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हेँ; G. (a) एग्रो or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन्ह् or इन्or Km. (a) यूँ or (c) इनूँ or इनो.

2) *The far dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ग्रो or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or ग्रोह् or वह् or उह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह् or वुह् or वुहि or उहि or (α) वो or Mw. (α) ऊ or वू (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह् or ग्रोह्; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or ग्रो (masc.) and हुग्र or उग्र (fem.); G. (d) ग्रोलो or पेलो (masc.), ग्राली or पेली (fem.), ग्रोलुँ or पेलुँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ग्रो or (α) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ग्रो or ग्रोह् or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उणा or वीँ or (γ) उणीँ or वणी; P. (a) उह् or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ग्रोन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिग्र or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ग्रोला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (α) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ग्रोह् or वह् or उह् or Bs. (a) ग्रो or उन्ह्; W. H. (a) वह् or (α) वे or वै; P. (a) उह् or ग्रोह्; S. (a) हू or हो or (α) हूए or ऊए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ग्रोला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ग्रोन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हौँ or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हौँ (or उन्हैँ or विन्हैँ dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्याँ or (c) उणाँ or वणाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनीँ or उन्हीँ act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ग्रोलाग्रो or पेलाग्रो; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह् or Km. (a) ऊँ or (c) उनू or उनो.

3) *The general dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (α) ताहा or (c) तिंनि or तेहूँ; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेह् or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), तेँ (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (α) ताहा or (c) तॉंहा; O. (a) ता or (α) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिं; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह् or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तवन् or (γ) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (β) तिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिणा or तिणी or तणी; P. (a) तिह् or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तॅंहिँ (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तइ or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह् or तिह or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) से; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (α) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), तीं (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तेन्ह् or (c) तौन् or (γ) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्ह् or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हौं (or तिन्हैं dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or ताँ or (c) तिणाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हीं or तिनीं act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हनि or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनह् or Km. (a) त्यूँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (α) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येउ or येउँ or यौं; E. H. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जोन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जे (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (α) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or (c) जौन् or (γ) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि, or H. H. (b) जिस् or (β) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिणा or जीं or जणा or जणी; P. (a) जिह् or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जॅंहिँ; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा, or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेह् or जिह् or (c) जवन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) तेन्ह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जीं (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्ह्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह or Bs. (a) ज्यन्ह् or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) ञिन्हौँ (or ञिन्हैँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) ञ्याँ or ञाँ or (c) ञिणाँ or ञणाँ; P. (c) ञिनाँ or ञिन्हाँ (or ञिनी or ञिन्ही act. only); S. (a) ञिनि or ञनि or (c) ञिन्हनि or ञिन्हिनि or ञिननि or ञिनिनि; G. (a) ञेम्रो; M. (a) ञ्यतँ; N. (a) ञिन्ह् or ञुन्ह् or Km. (a) ञ्यूँ or (c) ञनू or ञनन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केउ or केउँ or कौँ (all com. gen.), or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कुण (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह् or किह् or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह् (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काँईं or कँईं (all neut.); P. (a) किह्ज or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) की or किम्रा (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केम्रो or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केह or (e) कुञाञो (all com. gen.) or (a) ह्या or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) प्रो (masc.), प्री (fem.), प्रुँ (neut.) or कम्रो (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (α) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (α) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्याहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or कौँ or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किह्ञे or किह् or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह् (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or कँहिँ or (e) कुञाञे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोणया or कोणे (or काणीँ instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कश्रा or कश्रया (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कइ or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किह्ञे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुञाञ (com. gen.); G. (a) कम्रा (masc.), कई (fem.), कम्राँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह् or Bs. (a) क्यन्ह् or क्यन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौँ (or किन्हैँ dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुणाँ or कणाँ; P. (c) किनाँ or

किन्हाँ (or किनी॑ or किन्ही॑ act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किननि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोणाँ (com. gen.) or (b) कसाँ or कशाँ (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) क्वूँ or कनू or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केहू; O. (a) केहि or (c) कौणसि or कउणसि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केऊ or कोऊ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोऊ or (c) कौनौ; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणी or कोणही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like dir.; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) किसू or किसी or (c) कौनौ or Mw. (a) की॑ or (c) कुणी or कणी; P. (b) किसे or किसी; S. (a) कँहिँ or कँही॑; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणा or कोणहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like sing.; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कँई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोणी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (b) किसे or किसी or (c) किन्हाँ; S. (c) किने or कने or कनी or कन्ही॑; M. (c) कोणहाँ.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are *six* principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह् (occasionally elided), स्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), क् (or ङ्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) *so large* or *so much*, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, जेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम, तेम, जेम, केम (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, जिव, किव or इम, तिम, जिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एँव or इँव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्व or इम्व, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, जे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. डु,

as quant. pron., एवडु, तेवडु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms एु, तें, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एँव, तेँव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एम्वइ *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एम्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, तिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms ज्ञे (ते?), से are mentioned by Mḍ. as nom. sg. (ज्ञे से एस सुना यन्नदेतदां । एषां सुना सह ज्ञे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः । ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वणां वा । एवं से एस ॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. एु, तें or से, ज्ञे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms एह्, तेह्, ज्ञेह्, केह् are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. न्ह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms एन्ह्, तेन्ह्, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for *एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for *इहि), त्यहि (for *तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. एु, तें, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= एु, तें), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. न्ह usually drops the ह् (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह् or यन्ह् or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कविनं or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for *इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हौं, etc., P. इनाँ or इन्हाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of *अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. *एवहु or *एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or उ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *एव or *एवु. In G. the latter contracts to आ *that* (abl. आ थी *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for *ओहु = *एवहुं; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for *ओहि = Ap. *एवहि or *एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form *कवहु for Ap. *केवहु or *केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes ड to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन् or कउन् or कौन्, in W. H. कौनु or कौन्, P. कौण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुण् or कण्, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. जेवडु becomes in G. जेवन्, in E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन्, W. H. जौन्, N. जुन्; and Ap. तेवडु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन् or कौने, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवणा or कवणाहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे. The Ap. एवडु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or उन्, Mw. उण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कौने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणाँ or वणाँ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणाँ or कणाँ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ, Br. उन्हौं (= Ap. gen. *अवणहुं = एवडहुं), S. उनन्नि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुनन्नि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हैं (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिँ which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिं (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवंडु, etc., S. has the shorter forms एडो, तेडो, जेडो, केडो. Just as the Ap. एवडु becomes in B. a simple pron. उन्नि, so एडो, तेडो, जेडो by changing ड् to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इन्नि, तिन्नि, यिन्नि (read ज़िन्नि)[1]. This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिअ or इन्ही) or इन्हे (for *इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-रु or इनहे-रु, also spelled इन्ह-रु, इन्हे-रु, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)[2]. There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणाँ or अणाँ, Km. इनू or इनो, P. एनाँ or एन्हाँ or इनाँ or इन्हाँ, Br. इन्हौं, S. इन्हें or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हैं, O. H. इनहिँ, and P. an act. एन्हीं or इन्हों. The obl. forms in न्हाँ, न्हौं, न्है contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of *नहँ, *नहुँ, *नहिँ). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis,* also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एडो, तेडो, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

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1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उन्नि is founded on the longer form एवड, but the near dem. on the shorter एड.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for *इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एउ or एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, तेउ or तेउहँ or तेउहुँ *thither*, केउ or केउहँ or केउहुँ *whither*[1]). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड् to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेनै *whithersoever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gḍ. simple pron.; viz. O. येउँ, केउँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेम्रो, तेम्रो) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कम्रो m. (कई f., कउँ n.), probably for *कव्रो, shortened from the strong form केव्रो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केम्रो m. (केई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form *कउ occurs in Br. कौ or कों, N. क्रो, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for *तिव्रो) and ज्रो, Mw. ज्यो or ज्रो, Br. ज्रौ, P. ज्रो; M. also has masc. ज्रो, but makes a regular fem. ज्री and neut. ज्रें, and obl. sg. ज्या or ज्रे, obl. pl. ज्यां, dir. pl. ज्रे, ज्या, ज्रीं; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms *ज्रम्रो, *ज्रई, *ज्रयं. To the M. obl. pl. ज्यां corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्यां, Gw. ज्यूं. The S. has m. ज्रो, but a rather anomalous f. ज्रा, pl. ज्रे c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, तें, pl. ते, त्या, तीं; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्यां, Mw. त्यां, Gw. त्यूं. The G. neut. कउँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कउं *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sútras: यत्तद्रोर् अमा जउ तउ। अमा सह यत्तद्रोर् जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ मग्गसि तउ देमि॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and ङसिङस्म्यां जउ तउ च। यत्तद्रोर् इत्य् एव। चकारात् पक्षे प्राकृतवत्॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms[2]). I believe, N. is the only Gḍ., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यत्तद्रो मा जउ पतिउ। अमा सह यत्तद्रोर्जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ म° तउ द्°; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जउं, तउं) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sútra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits जो, तो as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. जो आट or जो सँगँ *from which,* तो आट or तो सँगँ *from him.* — In G., एम, तेम *thus,* etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. केम or केमं *how,* etc.[1]). B. adds the pleon. suff. अन् (§§ 209. 214); thus एमन् or एमनि or एमने, तेमन् or तेमनि or तेमने *thus,* etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. ओलो or पेलो *he, that* and the pronom. adv. अइले or ऐल्हे *now,* तइले or तैल्हे *there,* etc. by the change of इ to ल्. Thus Ap. एवडो becomes *अवडो, *अवलो or contr. ओलो or पेलो (for वेलो with an anomalous hardening of व् to प्): The N. अइले or ऐल्हे (for *एलहे) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. हे and is = Ap. Pr. एवडहे (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. ताला *there,* जाला *where,* काला *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. केहु *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. केडु by the change of इ to उ; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. *केरिहु, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. केरिसो, Skr. कीदृशः. The Ap. strong form *केरिहो becomes in S. the simple pron. केहीं *what* (usually spelled केहरो with transposed ह्). Substituting in केरिहो the long Ap. form केव° for के°, and the original द् for र्, we obtain केवदिहो (cf. Pr. कीदिसो Ls. 116); and similarly एवदिहो or एदिहो for the ordinary Pr. एरिसो or *एदिसो, Skr. ईदृशः. Here the palatal vowel इ changes द् to ज्, and thus in S. the Ap. *एदिहो and *एवदिहो become the simple pron. इको *this* (for *इजिहो, just as S. केहीं for केरिहो) and उको *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

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तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oṛiya characters उ (or उं) would be hardly distinguishable from इ.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Ráj 25, 28 कहैं नरु सो राजन वर प्रेमं। मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं॥ i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 जरों ताप उधरों केम नथ्थ। i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुञाडो *what* stands for the Ap. *केवद्दिहअउउ (with the pleon. suff. अउउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुञा *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अज़िहा or अज़ेहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)[1]), and it occurs in most Gḍs. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एह् or इह्, Br. इहु or यहु or यह्, E, H. इह or ई (for *इअ dropping ह्) or ऐह्. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form *एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह्, एह्, इहु) transposes the ह्; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इओ) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., ही f., हे ँ n. (for Ap. *इहउ, *इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. ह्या, pl. ह्याँ, and dir. pl. हे m., ह्या f., ही ँ n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह्) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउँ). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

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1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Md. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तद्दृश् चैह् सुपा। सुपा सह् तद्दो (दृश्या जे सेआ?) एहः स्यात्। एह् जणो बाला वणां वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम्॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वस्म्यां। स्वस्म्यां सह तद्ददसोः एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देक्ख वा। एष शोभते। एतं पश्येति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं च॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Md. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ज्ञ is added, thus केह्ज्ञ *which,* जेह्ज्ञ *whichsoever* (fem. °ज्ञी). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कह्ा or P. किआ *what,* with ए shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किआ stands for *किह्ा and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., क्हिआ *khiá,* § 132, note) and changes क्हि *khi* to छ् *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes *किहो, *किही, *किहुं into प्रो, प्री, प्रुँ (for छो, छी, छुँ, see § 11, for *क्हिओ, *क्हिई, *क्हिउँ). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gḍ. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that,* which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like.* It would become in the Ap. Pr. *सेहो or *सेहु or *सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. जे or जो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gḍ. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gḍ. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, जे, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, जेह, केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेँह, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. ईदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gḍ. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for *ऐसो or *इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. असा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms इसु or इस्, तसु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 थांन थांन नर उडै। चंद तस उप्पम पाइय॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised.* In modern Gḍ., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इसे, तिसे (as dat. acc. *to him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. ग्रइसहि or ग्रइसहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-र् *of what*, dat. loc. किसे *to or in what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-र् *of god*, देवे *to or in god* of देव्). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसयाह, Skr. कीदृग्रस्य or कीदृग्रकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसाँ or कस्याँ (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) *of whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवाँ of देव् *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, ज़िस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, ज़स्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, ज़ेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिग्रो, तेत्तिग्रो, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for *एत्तिग्रउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तौ, तित्तौ, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. एते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, ज़ित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा *of this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै *here*, तित् or तितै *there*, etc., P. इत्थे, तित्थे, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्थे, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्थे, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थे, etc. are contracted from इत्तहि or इत्तहे, तित्तहि or तित्तहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एत्तहे *here*, तेत्तहे *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)[1]). By the side of the shorter forms एत्तिअ, केत्तिअ, etc., Pr. uses also the longer *forms एवत्तिअ, केवत्तिअ, etc. (see* Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एत्तिओ *originates the W. H. near quant. pron.* इत्तौ, *so Pr.* *एवत्तिओ (*shortened* *अवत्तिओ, *ओत्तिओ) *becomes the far quant. W. H.* उत्तौ *that much, H. H.* उत्ता. *The corresponding weak forms are S.* ओति°, *G.* आट°, *W. H. and P.* उत°, *E. H.* ओत°, *B.* अत् (S. Ch. 85, see *§§ 452. 453)*; *and the pron. adv. are, Br.* उत् or उतै, P. उत्थे, S. उति or उते or उत्थि or उत्थे; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that.*

8) The following Gḍ. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, ज्जस्स or तास, ज्जास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), ज्जासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and ज्जास or ज्जासु[2]), in Br. only तासु and ज्जासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what,* Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.[3]). Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्थु *here*, तेत्थु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एत्तहु, तेत्तहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms ज्जहु *where*, तहु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्थ (for एत्तह = एत्तहु) or एत्ताहे or एत्तो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and ज्जत्थ, तत्थ, कत्थ, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्थ and एत्थं = *एत्तहं abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समीपं । रहो ँ नट विद्या उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that* king I remain to practise the art of the actor.

3) Md. says: दीर्घो ऽ स्से वा ऽसादेशे । स्सवर्जिते ऽसादेशे एषां (i. e. किंयत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काहं । काहुं । एवं यत्तदोः ॥ स्से । कस्स । ज्जस्स ॥

are preserved in Gḍ.; thus ताहि, ज्ञाहि, काहि (for *ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, ज्ञाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काहू in P.; in O. H. also ताह or ता [1]). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, ज्ञहिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तँहिँ, ज्ञँहिँ, कँहिँ, and with आ in O. ताहिँ, ज्ञाहिँ, काहिँ, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काँईं or कँईं (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइं (H. C. 4, 367) and कइं (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहू *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu* + *u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna* + *u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon* + *i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko* + *i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ने, ज़े, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. करू or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus करू is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

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i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ká, yá, tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एत्ताहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एत्ताहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्ताहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह); and ह or त्थ is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्थ = *एत्तह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्थ = *तेत्तह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Ráj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर न न सुष्ष ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र ग्रनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues.* — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काय् (for *काहि = *काइ); Bs. has काह and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form कऽ c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not कऽ, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह्ँ (viz. ऐह्ँ, ओह्ँ, तेह्ँ, जेह्ँ, केह्ँ) and with the emph. obl. forms in हो (as ऐहो, ओहो, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के कऽ घऽ or केह्ँ कै घऽ or rarely के करा घऽ *whose house* or *houses*; के कऽ मेहऽ or केह्ँ कै म° or rarely के करी म° *whose wife* or *wives*; obl. sg. के करे घऽ मे or केह्ँ के घऽ मे or rarely के कऽ घऽ मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहऽ से or केह्ँ के मेहऽ से or rarely के कऽ or के करे म° से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह्ँ के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह्ँ के म° से or rarely के करे म° से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह्ँ के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khaṛi bhásha*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. ओ करे मे *in him*, pl. ओन्ह् करे मे *in them*, etc.

441. 1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this.*

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह् के	ऐन्ह् लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह् से	ऐन्ह् लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए कऽ, करी, करे	ऐन्ह् कै, के or ऐन्ह् कऽ, करी, करे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह् मे or ऐन्ह् करे मे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ *even he, even this.*

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इहौ or इहऊ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही कै or एही कर् or ए करै or ए करे ही	एहू कै or एहू कर् or ए करौ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए करै मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए करौ मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह हीँ के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह हीँ से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह हीँ कै or ऐन्ह हीँ कर् or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करे हीँ	ऐन्ह हूँ कै or ऐन्ह हूँ कर् or ऐन्ह करौ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह हीँ मे or ऐन्ह करै मे or ऐन्ह करे हीँ मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह करौ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

Note: Like ई are declined ऊ *that*, ते *he*, जे *which*, के *who*; only substituting ऊ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौने कै, के	तौनी कै, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोगन् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोगन् के

	Com. gen.		Fem.	
instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से	or तौनेलोगन् से	तौनीलोग् से	or तौनीलोगन् से
gen.	तौनेलोग् कै, के	or तौनेलोगन् कै, के	तौनीलोग् कै, के	or तौनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे	or तौनेलोगन् मे	तौनीलोग् मे	or तौनीलोगन् मे

Note: Like तवन् are declined ज्ञवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अव or अउ or औ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this.*

442a. Short form: के or केहू; Long form: कौनो *any one.*

	Sing. and simple plur.			Compound plural.		
nom.	के	केहू	कौनो	केलोग्	केहू लोग्	कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के	केहू के	कौनो के	के लोग् के	केहूलोग् के	कौनोलोग् के
i., abl.	के से	केहू से	कौनो से	or के लोगन् के	केहूलोगन् के	कौनोलोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के	केहू कै, के	कौनो कै, के	etc.	etc.	etc.
loc.	के मे	केहू मे	कौनो मे			

Note: Like केहू is declined ज्ञकेहू *whosoever.*

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आपु. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आपु के *to himself* and *to themselves.*

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आपु; O. has आपे or आपणा, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाणा; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपणा and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self.* In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gḍ. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आपु. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gḍ. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्पाणो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाणु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाप्पा with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अत्ताणो, which, however, has left no trace in Gḍ., and is, probably, a false reading.

4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. तैं and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावऱ् or राउऱ् c. g., in the st. f. रउरा or रौरा m., रउरी or रौरी f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राउऱ् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gḍs.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपणा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राउऱ् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल° (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअउल° or राउल° (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives.* I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *àll, whosoever, some.*

a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोऱ् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमाऱ् c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोऱ् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहाऱ् c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एकर् or ओकर् c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एका or ओका m., °री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर् or ओन्हकर् c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हका or ओन्हका m., °री f.

Note: The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. °री. — The adj. निज् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gḍs., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर्, आमार्; O. मोर् or मोहोर्, अम्भर्; W. H. मेरौ, हमारौ (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, माँरो or म्हाँरो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हाम्रो; but P. मेरा, असाडा or साडा; M. माका, आम्-चा; S. मूँ-जो or मुहुँ-जो, असाँ-जो. Of the second pers., B. तोर्, तोमार्; O. तोर्, तुम्भर्; W. H. तेरौ, तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ (Br.) and थारो (or थाऊ), थाँरो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिम्रो; but P. तेरा, तुसाडा or तुहाडा; M. तुका or तुम्-चा; S. तो-जो or तुहुँ-जो, तव्हाँ-जो or अव्हाँ-जो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार्, अम्भर् and तोमार्, तुम्भर् as sing. *mine, thine,* and form new plur., B. आमा-देर् and even मो-देर् *our*, तोमा-देर्, तो-देर् *your*, O. अम्मानङ्कर्, तुम्मानंकर्. Similarly also N. हामीहेरु-को, तिमिहेरु-को or तिम्रीहेरु-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर् or आमार्-देर् or आमार्-दिगेर् and similarly तोमादिगेर्, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपुना, Br. अपनौ or आपनौ, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफ्ना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपणा-र् (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-जो or पाँहिँ-जो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gḍs. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-जो *mine*, M. आम्-चा *our*, P. तुसा-डा *your*, S. पाँ-जो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपणा-र् *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोर् *mine*, हमार् *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केर् and कर्, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मईअ *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर् always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for *महकरउ or *महकरा, मह being the gen. of हउं *I*, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मेरो (Md. त्वदीये तेर । मदीये मेर ॥); so also in Br. मेरौ or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोर् is founded on a form *महुकेरो (from gen. मह, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोर् *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहारु (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for *तुहकरु (from gen. तुह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोर्. The Br. तेरौ and Mw. थारो presuppose an original form *तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरौ, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= *अम्हकरा, from gen. or base अम्ह H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारौ; or, by elision of ह्, B. आमार्, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हाँरो; or, by shortening आ, O. अम्मर्, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-ड़ा (or सा-ड़ा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हाँरो), तुसा-ड़ा or तुहा-ड़ा are made with the old gen. aff. ड़ा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the स् of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the र् is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अप्पुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँहिं-जो appears to contain the old gen. *पानह (Ap. अप्पापाहो), contracted to पान्ह = पाँहिं (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or एतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much,* जेता or जेतना *as much,* केता or केतना *how much.* They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ई (§ 384, as एती or ऐतनी, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or ऐतने कै *of so much,* etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or किति क् or कितक्, and so forth of जेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैठा or जौथा *as much,* कौथा *how much.*

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etă,* etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-र्, but एतके-र्. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इत्तो or इतनो, उत्तो or उतनो, तित्तो or तितनो, etc. or (Mw.) इतरो, उतरो, तितरो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, आटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, ओतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितो or कितीक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, जेत्तिओ, केत्तिओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), केत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एत्तिअओ, etc., Ap. एत्तिअउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एत्तिए or एत्तिइ or एत्तिअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एत्तिअए or एत्तिअके or एत्तिअकए (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एत्तिअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एत्तिअए to E. H. एता; Mg. एत्तिअके to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एत्तिअकए to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एत्तिलो (for एत्तिअलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एत्तुलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ड् for त् or न्, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be superadded to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. *एत्तिअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, आतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवत्तिआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. are in Skr. इयतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The E. H. forms केत्रा, जेत्रा or जेठा are perhaps derived from केवतिअ, जेवतिअ with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवढा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जेटलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एत्तुलो, तेत्तुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, जेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, जेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवढा or (with pleon. ला) एवढाला, तेवढा or तेवढाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, जे, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड् or ऐड्, तेड् or तैड्, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एडे, तेडे, जेडे, केडे (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. ड़ो may be added, as एडिड़ो or हेडिड़ो, ओडिड़ो or होडिड़ो, तेडिड़ो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, जै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. ततिः, यतिः, कतिः, Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, जइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्ह् (or ऐसनेन्ह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसो, वैसो, तैसो (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. यसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अत्तिहा or अत्तेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहजो or हिअजो, तिहजो, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन, etc., O. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐजो or ऐरो, वैजो or वैरो, तैजो or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, वनो or वनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहजो, etc. add the pleon. suff. ज. The P. अत्तिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, जारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र् (or द्) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स् (or श्) is changed to ह्, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for *अइहो, *तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह्-type, similarly change the स् (or श्) of Pr. वीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह्, P. वीह्, तीह्, S. वीह, त्रीह. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. *एवन्तओ, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐजो or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एजो, P. एउ, etc.; and so also the Gw. एनो, where उ has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसौ and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms *एवइसो (= Skr. *एवादृशः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सब् or सभ or emph. सबै or सभै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सब् or सभ कै *of all* taken as *a whole,* but सभन् or सबहन् कै *of all* taken *severally.*

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सब्रू, P. सभ, G. सभ or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. सभु m., सभ f., or सभुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms सभोई and सिज्योई or सिजोई. — E. H. also uses सकऱ् or सगऱ् and साऱा *all, whole.*

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सव्वो, in the Ap. Pr. सव्वु (H. C. 4, 366) or *सबु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सब्रू (emph. सबरै). The form सभ has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु *self* for आपु, आघि *before* for आगि, etc. — The S. सभुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. सिज्योई or सिजोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. सभोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial स् of the remainder सिजो stands for व (see § 134); the final इज्यो or इजो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेयों or पेहेरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), थोरिजो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिजो *so small* (§ 455). In S., स् often changes to ह् (see Tr. XXX); hence सव° may have become हव° or हम°, next ह्म° (by suppressing अ), next म° (cf. Mw. म्हाँरो or माँरो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगऱ् is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and साऱा is, perhaps, really the past part. of साऱ्बू *to complete,* the causal of the R. सृ (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is जेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and जेकिछु *whatever,* which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of जे and केहू or किछु, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. जेकेहू कै *of whomsoever.*

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. जेको m., जेका f., जेको n. (Tr. 213); B. जेकिछु or जेकोन् n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is केतना or कई which is masc. and fem., and किछु or कुछ or कछु which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. केतने लोगन् कै *of some men,* कई घोरन् कै *of some horses,* किछु बात् कै *of some thing.* When केतना is used independantly, it forms the obl. केतनन्, and to कई the pleon. aff. एक् (§ 289) is added; thus gen. केतनन् कै or कईएक् कै *of some.*

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. किछु, O. किछि, Br. कछु, H. H. कुछ्, M. काँही, Mw. काँई or कँई, S. की, P. कुछ्. I know no satisfactory derivation for किछु, perhaps it is Pr. *किंचि हु = Skr. किंचित् खलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. आन् or दूसर् or अउर् or पराई *another,* and एक् दूसर् *one another.*

Note: आन् is the Mg. अन्ने (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. अन्यः; — अउर् is the Mg. अवले, Skr. अपरः; — पराई seems to be connected with the Skr. परकीयः; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. पराई (H. C. 4, 350) or पाया (H. C. 4, 376). — On दूसर् see § 271.

6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) *of place,* इहँ or इहाँ or इहवाँ or एठे or एठाँ or ऐठेन् or ऐठान् or ऐठाई *here;* तहँ or तहाँ or तहाँ or तहवाँ or तेठाँ or तेठेन् *there;* जहँ or जहाँ or जहाँ or जहवाँ or जेठेन् *where;* कहँ or कहाँ or कहाँ or कहवाँ or केठेन् *where?* The same in emph. form are: इहवैं or ऐहीठें or ऐहीठाँ *even here;* तहवैं or तेहीठें or तेहीठाँ *even there;* जहवैं or जेहीठें or जेहीठाँ *even where;* कहवैं or केहीठें or केहीठाँ *even where?*

b) *of direction,* ऐहर् or ऐहवर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओहवर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेहवर् *thither*; जेहर् or जेहवर् *wither*; केहर् or केहवर् *wither*?

c) *of time,* अब् *now,* तब् *then,* जब् *when,* कब् *when*? In emph. form: अबही or अबहियै *even now*; तबही or तबहियै *even then*; जबही or जबहियै *even when*; कबही or कबहियै *even when*?

d) *of manner or cause*: यूँ or एउँ or एओ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner* or *for this cause*; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेओ or तइसे or तैसे *thus* or *therefore,* also *then*; ज्यूँ or जेउँ or जेओ or जइसे or जैसे *in which manner* or *for which cause,* also *when*; क्यूँ or केउँ or केओ or कइसे or कैसे *how* or *why* or काहे *why,* केह् कार् or काहे बदे *what fore,* काहे *why not?*

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एथा or हेथा, ओथा or होथा, तथा or सेथा, यथा (i. e. जथा), कोथा or (h) ए खाने, ओ ख°, से ख°, ये ख°, कोन् ख°, or (d) हेदे *here,* or (*γ*) हेरो *here.* O. (*α*) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येउँ ठारे, केउँ or कोँ ठारे, etc. Bs. (*α*) ऐठ्याँ or ऐठ्यन्, ओठ्याँ or ओठ्यन्, तेठ्याँ or तेठ्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतै, उत् or उतै, तित् or तितै, जित् or जितै, कित् or कितै or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (*α*) अठै or अठी or ईँठै, उठै or उठी or ऊँठै, जठै or जठी (or जेँठै?), कठै or कठी or कैँठै or कोठै (also अउै, जउै, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्थे, उत्थे, तित्थे, जित्थे, कित्थे; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्थे, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्थे, तिति or तति or तित्थि or तिते or तित्थे or तते, जिति or जित्थि or जति or जिते or जित्थे or जते (also जाते or जात्थे), किति or कित्थि or कति or किते or कित्थे (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, ह्याँही, त्याँ or तही or ताँहाँ, ज्याँ or जही or जाँहाँ, क्याँ or कही or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येथे, तेथे, जेथे or जित्थे, केथे or (*α*) कोठे (Man. 100); N. (b) याँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (*γ*) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐहव-र्, etc.; in some parts also (*γ*) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (*γ*) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधर्, उधर्, तिधर्,

ञिधर्, किधर्; P. unknown; S. (γ) एउ or हेउ or एउहँ or ऐउहँ or एउहुँ or हेउहुँ, ओउ or होउ or ओउहँ etc., तेउ or तेउहँ or तेउहुँ, जेउ etc., केउ etc.; G. (γ) आणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, ञिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) याँहिँ, वाँहिँ, ताँहिँ, ञाँहिँ, काँहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेता कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एबे, तबे, यबे, कबे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) एं-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एबे, तेब्बे, येब्बे, केब्बे; E. H. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अब्बे, तबै or तौ (= तब्), जबै or जौ, कबै, or (d) जदू or जदै or जदा or तदू, तदू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कदा or कदू, or (e) जरै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम, जाम; P. (d) तदू, जदू, कदू; S. (c) तौं, जौं, or (γ) तडिहीँ, जडिहीँ, कडिहीँ; M. (c) एव्हाँ, तँव or तेव्हाँ, जँव or जेव्हाँ, केव्हाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्, or (c) अइले or ऐल्हे, तइले or तैल्हे, जइले or जैल्हे, कइले or कैल्हे, or (e) जरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियाँ or काहिँ-के or काहा-रु; O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, जउँ, कीउँ; S. (c) ईँअ or हीँअ or इँअ or हिँअ or इएँ, ऊँअ or हूँअ or उँअ or हुँअ or उएँ or हुएँ, तीँअ or तिँअ or तिएँ, जोँअ or जिँअ or जिएँ, कीँअ or किँअ or किँए; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, जेम्, केम्; M. (f) असेँ, तसेँ, जसेँ, कसेँ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसै, तसै, जसै, कसै, or यस्तै, तस्तै, जस्तै, कस्तै, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्यान् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-हुँ *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहरू-से *whence*, कब्-से *since when*, कब्-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीँअ or, के-तांईँ *how long* (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-बाट् or काँहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्थोँ

hence, ઇત્યો ँ *thence,* etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एथून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence,* तिकडून् *thence,* etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (*α*) ग्रहा सूँ *hence,* कहा सूँ *whence,* etc.; S. (a) इताँ or इताउँ or इतहूँ or इताहूँ or (*γ*) एडाँ or एडाउँ or एडहूँ or एडाहूँ *hence,* etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence.*

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *α*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्तिअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एत्तहे, तेत्तहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्थे (for *इत्तहे), तित्थे or (eliding ह्) W. H. इतै, तितै or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येथें, तेथें, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्तहिं, तेत्तहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एथा, तथा (also एथाए्, तथाए्, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *α*) which substitute ठ् for थ्; e. g., Mw. ग्रठै, तठै (like S. इत्थे), E. H. ऐठें, तेठें (like M. येथें), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एथा), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एटलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतना, S. एतिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations था and ठा, थें and ठें, थे and ठे and the nouns (loc.) थान् or ठान्, थाईं or ठाईं *in a place.* The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाईं or एही-ठें, etc., and the O. येउँ-ठाइ, केउँ-ठाइ can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए थान् *in this place,* ते थान् *in that place,* etc., B. ए खान्, त खान् (with ख् for स्थ् as in Pr. खाणू for Skr. स्थाणुः, H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एम्व as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एम्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420) and एम्वइं or एम्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एबे or एजे, and in W. H. shortened to ग्रबै *now,*

O. H. इमि *thus* (for *एमि), S. इएँ *thus* (for *इमेँ or *इवेँ). Similarly the W. H. तबै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिएँ, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्वहिं or तेम्वइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्व *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवँ or तिम or तिवँ *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउँ, तउँ (changing व *va* to उ) or इम्ँ, तिम्ँ (eliding म् or व्) or ईंम्ँ, तींम्ँ, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्व्), in W. H. contracted यौं, त्यौं, etc. or E. H. यूँ, त्यूँ (for *एउँ, *तेउँ) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तँव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब् *then*, N. अब्, तब्, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. *एम्वउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus एल्हे (= Ap. Pr. *एविल्लहे) or अइले (= Ap. *एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्व, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. *एम्वउइ); so also S., which preserves the original उ; thus एउे *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur*. Similarly the obl. suff. हँ is used in the M. एव्हाँ *now*, etc. (for *एव्हम्ँ with transposed ह् for *एवहँ). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for *एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and उ have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिँ (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probaby confused with the emph. aff. ई or ही, in तडिहीं *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, जाम (for तेम, जेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, जाम and in S. तावँ, जावँ. — The E. H. एह्र *hither*, etc. (lit. एह्-र्) contain the loc. suff. र (shortened for रे,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह् (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. ऐहवर् (transposed for ऐवहर्), ऐमहर् or ऐम्हर्, ऐनहर् or ऐन्हर् *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह् or ऐमह् or ऐनह् of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, जहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होंतओ आगदो *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होंतओ is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. H. तहाँ हुंतो, E. H. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. ताँहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. हं (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह, तेह, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहहं, E. H. इहाँ (for *इहअं), W. H. यहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहहं or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हहं होंतओ आगदो *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहीं *there*, etc. (for Ap. *तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. ताँहिं *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असें, N. यसै, E. H. ऐसे *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अइसो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अइसें, loc. अइसइ or अइसे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms इधर् *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह-र् and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एदूह, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial अ being suppressed and the loc. aff. र् (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for *एधे or *एदहे = Pr. loc. sg. एदूहे, and the W. H. adv. of time जदै or जदा or जटू or जद् *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for *जदहे (eliding ह्) or Pr. जेदूहे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इदर् *hither*, etc. by the side of इधर्, etc. — Again 6) the M.w. तरै, जरै, N. तर्, जर् *then, when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, जर्हि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. जेडे *whither*, तेडे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing र् or ड् to र्); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. ए खेन् *now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment*. (Skr. क्षण, Pr. खण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. यसो गरि *thus*, etc. of यसो *such* and गरि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर् *to do*, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कटब् *to be cut* comes the trans. काटब् *to cut*; similarly गडब् *to be buried*, गाडब् *to bury*; मर्‌ब् *to die*, मार्‌ब् *to kill*; लदब् *to be laden*, लादब् *to load*; मिलब् *to be mixid*, मेलब् *to mix*; देखब् *to be seen*, देखब् *to see*; देसब् *to be seen*, देसब् *to see*; लिपब् *to be smeared*, लीपब् *to smear*; खुलब् *to be opened*, खोलब् *to open*; छुटब् *to be loosed*, छोड्‌ब् *to loose*; गुथ्‌ब् *to be plaited*, गूथब् *to plait*. Again from the trans. उखाड्‌ब् *to pluck up* comes the intr. उखड्‌ब् *to be plucked up*; likewise नहायब् *to bathe*, नह्‌ब् *to flow*, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कर्‌ल्यस् *he did*, but intr. गइल् *he went*.

472. *Affinities.* In all Gḍs. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in इ; thus M. सुट् *to get loose*, but सोडि *to loose*; S. मर् *to die*, but मारि *to kill* (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटतों *I get loose*, but सोडितों *I loose* or (in Konkaní, see Man. 68, note) सोडतों; again सुटला *it got loose*, but सोडिला *he loosed*; again सुटत् *getting loose*, but सोडीत् *loosing*, etc.; again S. मरणु *to die*, but मारिणु (or in Láṛí) मारणु *to kill*; again मर *die thou*, but मारि *kill thou*; again मरंदो *dying*, but मारींदो *killing*; again S. सुनि or सुनु *hear thou*, सुनंदो or सुनींदो *hearing*, etc. But E. H. कुटतों, कुटलों, कुटत्; मारब्, मर्, मरत्; and so also कोडतों, कोडलों, कोडत्; मारब्, मार्, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gḍ. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. आव् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. अब् or इब् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), ऊ and ओ to उ (or औ). Thus S. V. करब् or करिब् *to do*, S. R. कर्, whence C. R. कराव्, inf. कराइब् (eliding व् by § 33) *to cause to do*; or S. V. मिलब् *to mix*, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाव्, inf. मिलाइब् *to cause to mix*; similarly S. Vs. पीयब् *to drink*, लेब् *to take*, घूमब् *to turn*, बोलब् *to speak*, whence C. Vs. पियाइब् *to cause to drink*, लियाइब् or लेयाइब् *to cause to take*, घुमाइब् *to cause to turn*, बुलाइब् or बोलाइब् *to call*, etc.

Exception. खाब् or खाइब् *to eat*, R. खा, forms its causal खियाइब् *to cause to eat* for *खयाइब् (cf. § 55).

Note: Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. आव् may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. व is elided before इ or ई; आ, when antepenultimate, is shortened to अ, and व् vocalised to उ, while अ + इ may change to ऐ and अ + उ to औ. Thus चलाई *he will cause to walk* (for *चलावी); चलइबो or चलैबो *I shall cause to walk* (for *चलाविबो); चलउनो or चलौतो *I cause to walk* (for *चलावतो); but चलावत् *he causes to walk* (not चलउत्).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. आ, as C. R. पढा *teach* of S. R. पढ् *read*; E. H. and G. have आव्, as पढाव्; W. H. has आव् or आउ, as पढाव् or पढाउ; P. and N. have आउ, as पढाउ; M. has अवि, as पढवि. The shortening of आव् to अव् (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindí (poëtry), as पुजाव् for पुजावाव् *fill* (see Kl. 207) and पुरव् for पुराव् *fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of आव् to औ, as रिसौ for रिसाव् *be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts आव् to ओ in डुबो or डुबा *immerse* of R. डूब्, and भिगो or भिगा (for भिगाव्) *moisten* of R. भीग; also in P. भिगो (Ld. 67); M. accasionally changes अवि to इव in trans. verbs, as सोडिव or सोउवि *loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains आव्, as बोलावि or बोलवि *call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. खा *eat* are in B. खाओया (S. Ch. 129), O. खुआ (Sn. 37), E. H. खियाव्, W. H. खवाव् (or खवा Kl. 207. 217), P. खुआउ (Ld. 67), M. खावबि (Man. 77), G. खवाडू (Ed. 114), S. खारा (Tr. 257), H. H. खिला. Again of R. दे *give* they are in B. देओया (S. Ch. 129), O. दिया (Sn. 37), E. H. दियाव् (also Bs. दिवाव्), W. H. दवाव् or दिवाव् (Kl. 214), M. देवबि or देविव् (Man. 118), G. दवाडू, S. डिआर (Tr. 256), H. H. दिला. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. जा *go* and ले *take*; but H. H. has लिवा *cause to take*, not *लिला. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of पी *drink*, सी *sew*, जी *live*; thus S. पिआर, जिआर (Tr. 256), G. सीवाडू (Ed. 114), H. H. पिला, सिला, जिला; but E. H. regularly पियाव्, सियाव्, जियाव्. Also of the Rs. चू *leak*, सो *sleep*, रो *weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, हुला, धुला, ढुला, G. वबाड़् (but H. H. बोआ), S. चुआर् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सीख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *teach*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाउ, M. शिकवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. डेखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाउ, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. केहेवडा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविश्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. विहार् (Tr. 256). Again R. बैठ् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैठ् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहवि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहवि (Man. 77); R. ज़ोह् *regard* in H. जुहार् *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. ऊभ् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उभार् *excite*; R. उथ् *rise* in S. उथार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम्ह् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार्; R. ड्रिज् *be afraid* in S. ड्रिजार्; R. विँहिज् *bathe* in S. विँहिजार् (Tr. 257); R. ज़म् *eat* in G. ज़माड़् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाड़् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. अय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्षमापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्षमाय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आव, and finally in Gḍ. अ-*quiescent* and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gḍ. the formation with आव् (or आउ or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मारय (or

मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार्, E. H. मार्; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कारय (or *कारपय), Pr. कारे or कार् or करावे or करावे, E. H. करावू; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. आवू changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens आ to अ in M. The Pr. suff. आवे becomes in M. अवि or अव (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खावविं *cause to eat* (for *खावावि), B. खाओया (for *खावा with आओ for आवू), W. H. खवावू, O. खुआ (with उ for अवू) with M. निज्जवि or निज्जविव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खारा *cause to eat* (contr. for *खआरा) with S. फेरारा *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाडू *cause to eat* is transposed for *खवडा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवडा *cause to speek* from R. केहू, and the suff. अवडा or अवाडू belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in हू, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. अवि (Man. 77); e. g., लिहविं *cause to write* from R. लिहू. Similarly the S. suff. आर् or आरा (for *अवार् or *अवरावू), H. H. आल् or आला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °डा, °रा, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the य् of the Skr. caus. suff. अय (as Bs. I, 241) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. ड् are modifications of the G. डू (or ड़)[1]), but the Skr. य् could not possibly change into डू. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. अव or एदू; the former corresponding to the M. अवि, G. आवू, S. आ; the latter to the G. आड, S. आर्,

1) Not *vice versa*; डू sometimes changes to लू, see § 105; but never लू to डू.

H. H. आल्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in आउ occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाउेइ् or भमाउइ् (besides the regular भामेइ् or भमावेइ् or भमावइ्) of R. भम् *roam* (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाउइ् (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाउइ् *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पढब् *to read*, S. R. पढ्, C. R. पढाव् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पढवाव्, inf. पढवाइब् *to cause to cause to read* (i. e. *to cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. अवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

Note: The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as करब् means *to do*, कराइब् *to cause an other person to do it*, but करवाइब् *to order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as बनब् *to be made*, बनाइब् *to make*, बनवाइब् *to cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has अवाव्, W. H. अवाव् or अवाउ, P. अवाउ, M. अवावि or अविव (Man. 109), G. अवाव् (or अवडा), S. आरा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) अवा. Thus of R. पढ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पढवाव्, W. H. पढवाव् or पढवाउ, P. पढवाउ, M. पढवावि or पढविव, G. पढवाव्, S. पढारा, H. H. पढवा *to cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क, so here the caus. suff. आपि is reduplicated (i. e. *आपापि or *आपापय).

3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइब्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइब् *to go* and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाइब् *to eat,* pass. खायल् जाइब् *to be eaten*; or पढ़ैला *he reads,* pass. पढ़ल् जाला *it is read.* This I shall call the *compound passive.*

Exception. The pass. of the verbs जाइब् *to go* and होइब् *to become* is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होअल् (see § 304).

Note: Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., *to be beaten* is मार् खाइब्, lit. *to eat a beating,* not मारा जाइब्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइब्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इज्ज, Mw. ईज्ज (see Kl. 214), N. इय, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in आ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल (or इल) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् जाय् *it may be said,* M. पढ़िला (or पढ़ला) जाए *it was wont to be read* (Man. 99); but B. पड़া জায় (S. Ch. 142), O. পড়া জাএ (Sn. 39), H. H. पढ़ा जाए (or जावे), W. H. पढ़ि जाए or पढ़्यो or पढ़्यो जाए, P. ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ (Ld. 60), G. પઢ્યો જાય; but S. පඩිනේ (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढीजै, N. पढ़िये, P. ਪੜੀਏ [1]). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

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[1]) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढीजैलो *it will be read,* N. पढ़ियेला, P. ਪੜੀਏਗਾ.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीजे (cf. S. किज्जणु *to be done*. Tr. 260), दीजे, पीजे, लीजे, सीजे, मूजे, हूजे lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढ़िये, etc. *let it be done, read,* etc., W. H. करीजे or करजे, पढ़ीजे or पढ़जे, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsí Dás) करिय or करिये or करीजे *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करीअतु or करीअत; in O. M. करिजे *let it be done,* करिजेतो *it is being done,* करिजेला *it has been done,* करिजेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. छडिजें *it may be given up,* छडिजेथो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. य. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इज्ज (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gd. इय or ई or ईज or अज or इज. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read,* Pr. पढीअइ or पढिज्जइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पढ़िये or Mw. पढीजे or पढ़जै or S. पढिजे. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done,* P. किज्जइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिज्जइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करीअइ, whence H. H. कीजे, S. किजे, Mw. करीजै or करजै, O. M. करिजे, P. करीए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पढि जाय्, करि जाय् are used. This shows that the old forms पढिजै, करिजै began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पढि, करि (= Pr. पढिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb जै (contracted for जाय्, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes.* This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in अल and यो or आ) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिजै became पढि जाय्, पढा or पढ्यो or पढल् जाय्. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. य itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gd. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical आ, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ज (= जा) with the suff. ज. Thus Pr. has जंति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. यान्ति; Pr. उत्थइ *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्था (= *उत्थाति); Pr. थवइ *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दइ *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with जाइब् (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. श्रा to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in श्रा are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in श्रा. Thus act. R. पढ् *read*, pass. R. पढा *be read*, inf. पढाइब् *to be read*, just like inf. जाइब् *to go* of the intr. R. जा *go*; again act. R. घूम् *turn*, pass. R. घुमा *be turned*, inf. घुमाइब् *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पढाला means *it can be read*, while पढल् जाला means *it is read*.

Exception. The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिया *be eaten*.

Note: As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पढल् जाला may mean *it can be read*, and पढाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. श्रव or श्रवव, and in G. by the suff. श्रा or श्रवा. The longer suff. श्रवव and श्रवा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in ह्. Thus E. H. छोडाय् *it can be loosed*, G. छोडाय्, M. सोडवे; again E. H. कहाय् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाय्, M. कहववे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb" and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood", in Ed. 107 „the passive verb" and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent". It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or

the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. आ is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. आ, and the G. pot. pass. suff. अवा with the H. H. double caus. suff. अवा; again the M. pass. pot. suff. अव and अवव are the same as the M. caus. suff. अवि and double caus. अवावि, even as regards the shortening of the original आ of the suff. आव or अवाव. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. खा *eat* becomes खिया in the pass. and खियाव् in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. अवा and अवव and the double caus. suff. अवाव् and. अवावि are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. मैं पोथी पढ़ाउलों might be translated: *I caused* (some one) *to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read.* Similarly the E. H. पोथी पढ़ायल् is either *the book caused* (some one) *to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read* (by some one). It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read.* It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., मला (acc.) or माकूयाने (act.) पोथी पढवली *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me.* In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. मो से पोथी पढ़ायल् or G. मारा थी पोथी पढ़ायी. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus मो से पोथी पढ्‌ल्‌ गयल्‌ *by me the book could be read.* On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive.* The infinitive is made by adding the suff. अब्‌ or इब्‌, obl. अबे or इबे or ऐ to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus पढ्‌ब्‌ *to read* of R. पढ्‌; पढ्‌बे से or पढ़ै से *by reading*; again खाइब्‌ or खाब्‌ *to eat* of R. खा; खइबे or खैबे or खाबे or खाये से *by eating,* etc.

Note: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles.* The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. अत्‌ c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. अल्‌ or इल्‌ c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus पढ़त्‌ c. g. *reading,* पढ़ल्‌ c. g. *read*; खात्‌ c. g. *eating,* खाइल्‌ or खायल्‌ c. g. *eaten,* etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

Note: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas.* The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. मै छोड़ल्‌ ज़ालों *I am loosed,* मै छोड़ब्‌ बाटों *I am to be loosed,* but घोड़ा के (or घोड़ा) मैं छोड़लों *I did loose the horse,* घोड़ा के मैं छोड़बों *I shall loose the horse,* or पोथी के (or पोथी) मैं पढ़लों *I did read the book,* प० के मैं पढ़बों *I shall read the book.* The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass.-act. construction,* or the कर्तरि प्रयोग्‌ of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: आमि (or मुइ) छोड़ा ज़াइ, but घोड़ा के (or घोड़ा) आमि छोड़िलाम्‌ and घ० के आ० छोड़िब; पोथी के आमि पढ़िलाम and घ० के आ० पढ़िब; in O. मुहि छोड़ा ज़াइँ, but घोड़ा कु मुहि छोड़िलि (or अम्भे छोड़िलुँ) and घ० कु म० छोड़िबि

(or अ° छोडिआ); पोथी कु मुहि पढिलि and प° कु म° पढिबि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gḍs. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act.; they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग् of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला ज्ञातो॑ *I am loosed,* but घोडा मी॑ सडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोथी मी॑ वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी॑ सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or प° मी॑ वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हौं छोड्यौ ज्ञावो॑, but घोडा मैं॑ ने छोड्यौ, पोथी मैं॑ ने वाँची; or in S. अॅऊं छडिबो अॅहियाँ[1]), but घोडो मूँ छडिग्रो, पोथी मूँ पढी; or in H. H. मैं॑ छोडा ज्ञाता हूँ, but घोडा मैं॑ ने छोडा, पोथी मैं॑ ने पढी. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gḍ. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पढणे॑ *to read,* पावणे॑ *to obtain,* पिणे॑ *to drink,* बोलणे॑ *to speak,* लेणे॑ *to take* and others (see Man. 32); thus मी पोथी पढलो॑ *I did read the book,* not मी॑ पोथी पढली. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gḍs. It is likewise a pass. constr., but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal pass. constr., and is called by nat. gramm. the भावो प्रयोग्. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मी॑ सोडिले॑ lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me,* पोथी ला मी॑ वाचिले॑ lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा कौं॑ मैं॑ ने छोड्यौ, पोथी कौं॑ मैं॑ ने वाँच्यौ; S. घोडे खे मूँ छडिग्रो, पोथिअ खे मूँ पढिग्रो. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gḍ. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. छडिबो is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. अॅऊं छडिजाँ घो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gḍ. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़ो मैं ले छोड़्यो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse,* पोथी मैं ले पढ़्यो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ो स्त्री ले छोड़ी lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse.*

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (see § 486), in अते, अले (or इले), अबे (or इबे). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle ई, which coalesces with its termination to अतै. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus समै *time* after अते, से *from* after अले, के *to* or बटे *for* after अबे. Thus पढ़ते or पढ़तै or पढ़ते समै *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; पढ़ले or पढ़ले से *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; पढ़बे or पढ़बे के or पढ़बे बटे *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading.*

Note: The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object.* The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as पोथी पढ़ि आयल् or पोथी पढ़ले से आयल् *he came, having read* or *from reading the book.* — Instead of होते *on being* संते is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. इते, इले (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. अंते, इले (Sn. 28), M. अतां (or emph. अतांना, Man. 63. 64), H. H. अते (emph. अते ही), ए, अने (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. अदे, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. अंदे, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. ऐ or इ to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to य्, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढ़े or पढ़ि or पढ़ or पढ़ेके or पढ़िके or पढ़के *having read* from R. पढ़; खाइ् or खाय् or खाइ्के or खाय्के *having eaten*; होय्के etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहेदेब् or कहदेब् *to inform*, खाय्लेब् *to eat up*, आय् जाइब् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are य or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. य may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इअ and ऊण respectively. Both are preserved in Gḍ.; so, however, that इअ is common to the E., W. and N. Gḍ., while ऊण is confined to S. Gḍ. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. ऊन्, E. R. ऊने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिऊण, M. करून्, E. R. करूने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविअ, E. H. पाइ or पाय्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविऊण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form ऊने. Similar are the O. M. forms ओनि or ओनियाँ (also उनि or उनियाँ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियाँ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Md. 12, 17)[1]). Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form *टूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and टूण (or ऊण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Páli त्वानं, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Md's sútra seems to be, क्त्वो दाणिश्च स्यात्। पुंस्त्रिदाणि। पक्षे पुंस्त्रिअ॥ i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by टूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as ञाणां, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. ञा (Wb. Bh. 435) or दुअ (H. C. 4, 27.2). If त्वानम् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान (or त्वन्), the Pr. दाणि or Gd. ओनि, ऊने might be a loc. sg. for *ञाणे or *तूणे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. ओनियाँ might be an emphatic form of the same[1]). — Of the Pr. form दुअ (as in कदुअ *having done*, गदुअ *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part, कए *having done* of R. कऽ. It also occurs in P: के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or कऽ or करि (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to ऽ (for कऽ); e. g., मार्-ऽ *having beaten* for मार्-कऽ; खा-ऽ *having eaten* for खा-कऽ (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., कऽ-ने *having done* = Br. कऽ-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, कऽ-के; e. g., मार्-कऽ-के *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खाई-कन् *having eaten*, बसी-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. अनिहार् e. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पऽनिहार् *a reader* from R. पऽ; खानिहार् *eater* from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पऽनिहार् may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read.*

Note 1: The masc. strong form in अनिहारा is also used occasionally; likewise the W. H. suff. अनेवारा (for अनेवाला), fem. °री; but the fem. strong form in अनिहारी only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पऽनेहारा *a (male) reader*, but पऽनेहारी the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

Note 2: For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

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1) Ls. 400 supposes दाणि to have lost a final anuswára (for *दाणिं) and to have changed the ञ of *दाणं = ञाणं to ञ्.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in आ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओं	ईं	after Rs. in आ	आवँ	आईं
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ		ओ or आ	आह् or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	ऐं		आए्	आँयँ

Note 1: The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

Note 2: The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of ग्रह्, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढब् *paṛhab we shall read*, but पढब *paṛhaba you will read*; खाब् *khâb we shall eat*, but खाब *khâba you will eat*, or खाइब् *khâïb we shall eat*, but खइब *khaïba* or खैब *khaiba you will eat* (see § 508). So पढ *paṛha read you*, but पढ् *paṛh read thou*. Again पढैल *paṛhaila you read*, not पढैल् *paṛhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gḍ. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gḍ. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gḍ., N. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gḍs., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो बहेरू निघे *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)[1]). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोहे के बोलावै *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary

consequence the W. and N. Gḍ. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in आवा m., आवी f., आवें n., in the pl. आवे m., आव्या f., आवीं n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are अवो m., अवी f., अवुँ n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)[1]). — In all W. Gḍs. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., तइआ पा रमसि *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or तइआ पा पोसि *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gḍ. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	एँ[3]	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइँ	ओं	ऊँ	औं	ऊँ, उँ	आँ	उँ	आँ
2.	अस, एस्[1]	इस्, ए[1]	इस्[1]	उ[1]	उ, अq.	ए[1]	ऐ[1]	ए[1]	एँ[1]	ए[1]	एँ, ईं[2]
3.	ए[4]	ए[10]	ए[7]	अइ, ए[7]	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	ऊँ	ओं, ए	इ	उँ, इ	ईं	एँ	ऐं	आँ	ये	ये	ऊँ
5.	आँ[5]	औ, ए	अं	अ	अह्, अ	ओ	औ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत्[6]	अन्, ए[8]	एन्[8]	अंति[9]	ऐं	एँ	ऐं	ऐ	अपा	ए	अनि

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊँ; 4) ओ or ऊ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or ऊत्; 7) उ (or B. उक); 8) उन्; 9) अंतु or उंत; 10) ओस्.

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pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gḍ. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 136. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the karmani prayoga must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the kartari prayoga; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स् sg. and त् pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तूँ सुटावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gḍ. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gḍ., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gḍ. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr. [1]). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कट्टउं or कट्टमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तयामि, E. H. काटों or कटों; Ap. रुअहि or रुअसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. रुदसि; Ap. इच्छहु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छथ). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1st and 2nd pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हसथ or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. आमि, Pr. आमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अउं (H. C. 4, 385).

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mayest get loose, but त्वाँ घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुटावा *I or he may get loose.*

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 जइ णा होंति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवंति). The Gḍs. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होतें.

The former is preserved in the O. अइँ, M. एँ, B. इ; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पढामि or पढमि, O. पढइँ, M. पढे॑, B. and O. पढि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउँ, Br. औ॑, E. H. ओ॑, H. H. ऊँ, Mw. ऊँ or उँ, G. उँ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पढउं *I read*, O. H. पढउँ, Br. पढो॑, E. H. पढो॑, H. H. and Mw. पढूँ, G. पढुँ, N. पढु. The S. and P. अाँ, as पढाँ, must be a modification either of अउँ = ओ॑ or अइँ = एँ. The Psh. and Pers. have अम्. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असिं or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐस, M. अस् or एस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पढसि, O. H. पढसि or पढेसु, M. पढस् or पढेस्, B. and N. पढिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. एँ and S. एँ or ईं॑, but with an anomalous anunásika; thus Ap. Pr. पढहि, O. H. पढहि or पढइ, W. H. पढै, H. H. and G. पढे, P. पढे॑, S. पढे॑ or पढी॑. The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or सु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह्), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, O. H. पढइ, O. पढइ or पढे, E. H. and W. H. पढै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पढे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद्. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आमः, in Pr. आमो or आमु or आम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुं (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुं, probably, contains an euph. ह् for अउं for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउं (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहिं [1]). It becomes in N. औ॑, M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the ह् in the Ap. अहुं; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. ऊँ, O. उँ or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read,* Pr. पढामो or पढामु or पढमु, Ap. Pr. पढहुं, N. पढौं, M. and S. पढूं, O. पढुँ or पढु. The Pr. form इमु or इम contracts in E. H. to ईं (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिमु or पठिम, E. H. पढों. The intermediate form would be *इअँ, which may either contract to ईं (like M. पाणी *water*, for Pr. पाणिअं, § 83, exc.) or drop final अ (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिअ, § 491); hence E. H. पढौं, O. पढि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to अइँ and modified to अहिँ, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. अहिं. Both अइँ and अहिँ occur in O. H. and are contracted to एं in Br. and एँ in H. H.; thus O. H. पढइँ or पढहिँ, Br. पढें, H. H. पढें. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form *इअँ; thus G. and S. पढ्ये, perhaps for *पठिअँ or *पठिअइँ. The Mw. अाँ is a modification of the N. औं or the Br. एं, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. अाँ (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ऊ, the Pers. ईम्. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अथ, in Pr. अह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or अहं (with euph. anusvára, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. अह or अहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. अह् or अ, B. and O. अ, and M. अाँ (for अहं); thus Skr. पठथ *you read*, Pr. पढह or पढहं, E. H. पढह्, B. and O. पढ, M. पढाँ. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. अथः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. *अहो or अहु [1]). In O. H. it becomes अहु or अउ, in Br. and N. औ, in the rest ओ; thus Ap. Pr. पढहु, O. H. पढहु or पढउ, Br. and N. पढौ, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पढो. The Psh. has अई, the Pers. ईद्; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्थ (H. C. 3, 143 as हसित्थ *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gḍ. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्ति, in Pr. अंति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. अंति or अहिं (H. C.

ह्म् for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where ह्म् is perfectly regular for स्म् by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. अामो or अामु for Skr. आमः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. ध्वम् of the átman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. ह, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अत् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पढंति, O. पढ़ंति, M. पढत्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ऐँ, H. H. एँ, also Mw. ऐ and G. ए with loss of anunásika; thus Ap. Pr. पढहिं, O. H. पढ़हिँ or पढ़इँ, E. H. and Br. पढ़ैँ, H. H. पढ़ेँ, Mw. पढ़ै, G. पढ़े. The origin of the Ap. form अहिं is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or एन्हि (for *इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंहि, then to अन्नि and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अनि, B. एन् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अणु, N. अन्. Thus S. पढ़नि, B. पढ़েন্, P. पढ़णु, N. पढ़न्. The Psh. has ईं and the Pers. अन्दू (softened for अन्त्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. आनि, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. आमु or अमु (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउं (see § 127)[1]) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to ऊँ, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओँ and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठानि), Pr. पढामु or पढमु *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पढउं *I may read* or *I read*, M. पढूँ *let me read*, E. H. पढोँ *I may read* or *I read*, etc. — h) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. असु besides अहि and अ. (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ. (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. असु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउं to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. ए is a contraction of अयँ (of the Xth class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. अ, while the Ap. term. इ is a curtailment of ए, and the term. उ perhaps a corruption of the अ. This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both इ and उ, and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and Xth class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. उ is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gḍ. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. अ qu.) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. पढसु *read thou*, but O. H. पढसु *read thou* or *thou mayest read*; or Pr. पढहि *read thou*, Ap. Pr. पढहि *read thou* or *thou readest*, O. H. पढहि *read thou* or *thou mayest read* or *thou readest*; or Skr. पठ *read thou*, Pr. पढ, Ap. पढु, O. H. and E. H. पढु *read thou* and *thou mayest read*, O. पढु *thou mayest read*, E. H. पढ़ *read thou* or *thou mayest read*, all other Gḍs. (exc. S.) पढ़ं *read thou*. Again Pr. पढे (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*; Ap. पढे or पढि, S. पढि. — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अत्, in Pr. अउ (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. ओ or ऊ, O. उ, B. उ-क्, N. ओ-स् (or after vowels अ-स्). The additions, क् in B. and स् in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. के or 3. pers. से (see § 503). Thus पठतु *let him read*, Pr. पढउ, M. पढो or पढू, O. पढु, B. पढुक्, N. पढोस् (or जावस् *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आम; but Pr. substitutes the termin. आमो or अमो (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or अमु and Ap. Pr. अहुं (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gḍs.; thus (Skr. पठाम), Pr. पढमो or पढमु *let us read*, Ap. पढहुं, N. पढौं, M. पढूँ, etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अत; but Pr. substitutes the termin. अह (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has अउ (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as অহু of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped হ্[1]). It occurs also in all W. Gḍs., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. হ is preserved in the E. Gḍs. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. পঠত), Pr. পঢহ *read you*, E. H. পঢ়হ্ or পঢ় (*paṛha*), B., O. and N. পঢ়; M. পঢा (for *পঢঅ = পঢহ); but Ap. পঢউ, Br. পঢौ, Mw., G., P., S. পঢো, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. অন্তু, Pr. অংতু (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. অংতু or উন্ (by transfer of উ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. অোত্ or ঊত্, B. and N. উন্. Thus Skr. পঠন্তু *let them read*, Pr. পঢ়ংতু, O. পঢ়ংতু or পঢ়ুত, M. পঢ়োত্ or পঢ়ূত্, B. and N. পঢ়ুন্. The change of উত্ to উন্ is analogous to that of অত্ to অন্ (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gḍs. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. খাদ্তি *he eats*, Pr. খাঅই or খাই (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. খায়; Skr. খাদ্তামি *I eat*, Pr. খাঅমি or খামি, Ap. Pr. খাউঁ, E. H. খাবুঁ, etc.

Note: It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. পঢ়েন্ *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. পঢ়িলেন্ *you read* or পঢ়িযাইেন্ *you have read*, পঢ়িযাইিলেন্ *you had read*, fut. পঢ়িবেন্ *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which আবেত্ m., আব্যাত্ f., আবীঁত n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. ইহে and plur. ইহ; e. g., পঢ়িহে *read thou*, পঢ়িহ *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precative*. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

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1) Ls. reads ঊ, which is probably a false reading for উ or হু.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यसि, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इहहु, in E. H. sg. इहे (for *इहइ = इहह), pl. इह (for *इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for *इहउ); e. g., कल्लिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इये and pl. इयों; that is, the medial ह् is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ईं, pl. ईंओ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इज्जि or एज्जि or इज्जा or इज्जाइ, pl. इज्जो or एज्जो or इज्जाउ or इज्जाह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अजे, pl. अजो; Mw. sg. अजै or ईजै or अज्ये, pl. अजो or ईजो or अज्यो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. इयै or इय्यै or ईयै or इजै or ईजै, pl. इयौ or इय्यौ or ईयौ or इजो or ईजौ (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पठ्यसे), Ap. Pr. पढीअहि or पढिज्जहि or पढेज्जहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पढीयै or पढियै, P. पढी, or Mw. पढीजै, S. पढिजे or पढेजे, G. पढजे; plur. (Skr. पठ्यध्वे), A. Pr. पढीअहु or पढिज्जहु, Br. पढीयौ, P. पढीओ, Mw. पढीजो, S. पढिजो or पढेजो. The increment इज्ज or इज्जा or एज्ज or एज्जा is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb हो (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)[1]), but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *près. tense*, Pr. होइ or होज्जइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होज्जाइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य to revert to its original radical state या (which is fully developped in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होज्जाइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + याति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो जाए *he becomes*, E. H. होय् जाय्. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होज्जउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb या *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयात् *may he be* = R. भू and 2nd aorist यात्.

(pass.) भूयतौं (lit. *भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 333); also Pr. होइआउ (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यातु. Again in the *fut.*, Pr. होहिसि or होइहिसि *thou wilt be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. *भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होइआहिसि (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + यास्यसि. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. हससु or हसेज्जसु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेज्जहि or contr. हसेज्जे (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेजि or हसिजि. S. has also a longer form हसेजाइ or हसिजाइ lit. = *हस् + याहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेजो or हसिजो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेज्जहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped; and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इज्ज or एज्ज as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होज्ज or होइज्जा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेज्ज or पढेज्ज may mean: *he reads, he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	ऍलोँ (or ऍल्योँ)	ऍल्यूँ	ईला	ईला
2.	ऍले or ऍलेस्	ऍली or ऐलिस	ऍल or ऍलह् (or ऍल्यह्)	ऍल्यू
3.	ऍला	ऍल	ऍलेँ or ऍलेन्	ऍलीँ or ऍलिन्

Optionally the initial ऍ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अलोँ, fem. अल्यूँ, etc.; but 1. pl. only ईला. After roots in आ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऍ or अ (but not ई) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लोँ, fem. ल्यूँ, etc.; but 1. pl. always ईला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लोँ, Mth.

ह्यी, N. ह्ऊँ, Br. ह्यौँ or ह्वूँ (Kl. 206, a), Mw. ह्वूँ or ह्ऊँ (Kl. 212, 402), G. ह्वुँ (Ed. 54), S. थो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms ह्यी, ह्वुँ or ह्ऊँ, ह्वूँ or ह्यौँ are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and अ respectively. Thus Br. करौँ ह्यौँ or करूँ ह्वूँ, Mw. करूँ ह्वूँ or करूँ ह्ऊँ, G. करूँ ह्वुँ, but Mth. करै ह्यी, N. गर् ह्वुँ or गर् ह्ऊँ *I do*; Br. करै ह्यै, Mw. करै ह्यै or करै ह्वै, G. करे ह्वे, Mth. करै ह्यैँ, N. गर् ह्वस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form थो is the past part. of the auxil. verb थिअणु *to be* (contr. for थिओ, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिआँ थो *I do*, fem. करिआँ थी, pl. masc. करिऊँ था *we do*, fem. करिऊँ थिऊँ, etc. The E. H. form लोँ is the 2nd pret. of the auxil. verb आव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलोँ (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for *ल् and *लो (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or आवल्, 1. pl. ऐलो); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in अ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ई[1]). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, ह्वै, ह्व, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई ह्व or कोई है or कोइ ह्वै

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐँ. In O., the 1. sg. ends in अइँ which would easily contract to ऐ. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. एन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., करेन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., अहेँ or अहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. अहह् or अह or अहौ is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐँ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunásika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐ. The अ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई आवैले तब् खाईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat.* Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल *come* to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग *gone* to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगौ) masc. *he is,* fem. है or हैगी with Br. होयगौ, H. H. होगा, P. होवेगा masc., °गी fem. *he* or *she will be*; again Br. हैं or हैंगे masc. *we are,* fem. हैं or हैंगीं, P. masc. हाँ or हाँगे, fem. हाँ or हाँगीआँ with Br. होयँगे, H. H. होंगे, P. होवाँगे masc. *we shall be,* fem. Br. °गीं, H. H. °गी, P. °गीआँ, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतैलोंं *I sleep* (of R. सूत्), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूतै + लोंं); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतैलोंं which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep,* may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep.* Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy" is equal to „I am happy" now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हौं, अहेउँ, होंं resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in ता, दा, तू, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. करत् अहेउँ masc., °ती अ° fem. (Kl. 241), Br. करतु हूँ or °तो होंं m., °ति or °ती हूँ or होंं f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. करदा हाँ m., °दी हाँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. करता हूँ m., °ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. करत् अहो m., °ति अहो f., Br. करत् हैं or °ते हैं m., °ति or °ती हैं f., P. करदे हाँ m., °दीआँ हाँ f., H. H. करते हैं m., °ती हैं f. *we do,* etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितों m., करित्यें f., करितें n. *I do*; करितोस् m., करितीस् f., करितेंस् n. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करइँ, G. करूँ *I do*; B. करिस्, O. करु, G. करे *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अइँ	ऐं लों	ऐ कों	औ हौं	ऊँ हूँ, ऊँ छूँ	उँ, उँ छुँ
2.	इस्	उ	ऐं लेस्	ऐ केँ	ऐ है	ऐ है, ऐ कै	ए, ए के
3.	ए	अइ	ऐं ला	ऐ अछि	ऐ है	ऐ है, ऐ कै	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अछुँ, अछूँ	आँ थो	अतोँ	अत् अहेउँ	अतु हूँ [1]	अता हूँ	अदा हाँ
2.	अ छस्	एँ थो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अतु है	अता है	अदा हैं
3.	अ छ	ए थो	अतो	अत् अहै	अतु है	अता है	अदा है

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उँ	ई ला	ऐ कों	ऐं हैं	आँ हाँ, आँ छाँ	ये, ये छैये
2.	अ	अ	ऐं लह्	ऐं कों	औ हौ	ओ हो, ओ छो	ओ, ओ छो
3.	एन्	अंति	ऐं लेन्	ऐ अथि	ऐं हैं	ऐ है, ऐ कै	ए, ए के
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अ छूँ [2]	ऊँ था	अतों	अत् अहों	अत् हैं	अते हैं	अदे हाँ
2.	अ छो	ओ था	अतां	अत् अहह् [3]	अत् हौ	अते हो	अदे हो
3.	अ छन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन् [3]	अत् हैं	अते हैं	अदे हन्

In the fem., S. changes थो and था to थी and थिऊँ, Br. अतु to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अदा and अदे to अदी and अदीआँ; M. sg. 1. अत्यें or अतें, 2. अत्यें् or अतेस् or अतीस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतौ हौं, fem. अती हौं, etc.

2) Or, अ छुँ.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहो, 3. अत् अहें.

or ञ्ये or ञ्ते; pl. fem. like masc. — *In the neut.*, M. has sg. 1. ञ्तें, 2. ञ्तेंस्, 3. ञ्तें; pl. neut. like masc.

2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इञ or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. योँ, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. आ, 2. यौ, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nágarí bháshá*).

Exception. As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., कर्‌ब् *to do* uses the forms किय (for किइञ) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियौं, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किया, 2. कियौ, 3. किहिन्. Like कर्‌ब् are conjugated धर्‌ब् *to place*, देब् *to give*, लेब् *to take*.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इञ or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial ञ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or ईँ (as in O. H. कर्‌उँ, O. कर्‌ईँ *I do*); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. कर्‌सि or कर्‌हि or E. H. कहं *thou docst*); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous ह्) हि (as in O. H. कर्‌इ or कर्‌हि *he does*); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. करौं *we do* for *कर्‌उँ or N. जाउँ *we go*); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. कर्‌हु *you do*); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. कनि or करीनि *they do*, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इञ is generally contracted to ऐ and, sometimes, to ञ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पढ्‌इञ + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पढेउँ or पढ्‌उँ, Bh. पढ्‌योँ *I read*; the 1. sg. ईँ in N.; e. g., पढ्‌इञ + ईँ = N. पढेँ *I read* or थिञ + ईँ = N. थ्येँ or थियेँ *I was*. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पढिअ + हि = O. H. पढेहि or पढिअ + उ = O. H. पढेउ or पढउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पढिअ + सि = O. H. पढेसि, Bs. पढिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पढेस्, Bh. and N. पढिस्, or थिअ + सि = N. थेस् or. थियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पढिअ + हि = O. H. पढेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पढिअ + aff. सि = O. H. पढेसि, Bs. पढिसि or पढेस्, Bh. पढिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin[1]). The same 3. sg. aff. स् exists also in P.; e. g., पढिओस् *he read*, कीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पढोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. से, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पढिउ-सि *he read*, फिरिउ-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पढ्यो or पढियो *he read*, fem. पढी *she read*, or masc. थ्यो or थियो *he was*, fem. थिई *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पढिअ + उँ = N. पढ्यूँ or पढ्युँ *we read*, or थिअ + उँ = N. थियुँ or थ्यूँ or थ्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पढिअ + न्हि (for न्ति) = O. H. पढेन्हि, Bs. पढिनि or पढेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. आ is, perhaps, a modification for *आँ, containing the same 1. pl. termin. आँ as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H., पढा *we read* for *पढ्याँ = पढिअ + आँ. — Again e) the 2. pl. हु occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पढिअ + हु =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in अउ or ऐउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पढेउ or पढउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पढिअउ, Pr. पढिअओ, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पढिओ, N. पढ्यो.

O. H. पढ़ेहु, N. पढ़िऊ or पढ़्यौ, Bh. पढ़्यौ, Bs. पढ़िउ *you read,* or N. थिअ + हु = थियउ or थ्यौ *you were.* — Again f) the 3. pl. न्हि occurs in O. H., as पढ़ेन्हि *they read,* and नि in Bs. पढ़िनि and न् in E. H. and N. पढ़ेन्, Bh. पढ़िन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of *ये or *येँ, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or एँ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढ़े *they read* for *पढ़्ये or *पढ़्येँ = पढ़िअ + एँ, or N. थ्ये or थे *they were.* Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ़्या *they read,* थिया or थ्या *they were.* — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् *to be.* Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढिअमि, Ap. Pr. पढिअउं (= Skr. *पठितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिअ म्हि (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पठितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb अछि or अछि *I am* to the past part. in ईअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढ़िआछि *I read* for पढ़िअ or पढ़ि + अछि, O. पढ़िअछि = पढ़ि + अछि; 2. sg. B. पढ़िआछे, O. पढ़िअछु *thou readst,* etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सोँ *we are* (for हि and होँ, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poëtry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअछि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सोँ, fem. हलिऊँ-सोँ *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. एँ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिएँ masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिएँ or हलिअाँ

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्यउ (= E. H. चल्यो), fem. हलिऊँ *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलिओ masc., हली fem. *he* or *she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिआ, fem. हलिऊँ *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1st and 2nd persons)[1]). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gḍs. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhávi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौं छोड्यौ, S. चेले मूँ खे छडिओ lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me" being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड्यौ masc. or हौं छोडी fem., S. चेले आँउँ छडिओ masc. or आँउँ छडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the Bháví and Karmani prayoga may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने ओह् पोथी कौं छोड्यौ, S. चेले हुन् पोथी खे छडिओ lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left (Bháví)* or Br. चेला ने ऊ पोथी छोडी, S. चेले हू पोथी छडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left (Karmani)*. — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the Kartari prayoga, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौं चल्यौं m., हौं चली f., G. हुँ चल्यो m. or चली f., but S. आँउँ हलिउसि m. or हलिअसी f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

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1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gḍ., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him" becomes, in W. Gḍ., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left". Accordingly, in W. Gḍ., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me" ought to become, in W. Gḍ., 1. pers. „by him I was left". But even here W. Gḍ. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left".

Singular.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाछि [1])	इअछि	ऐउँ	यो॑	एँ	इउसि [2])	
2.	इयाछे	इअछु	ऐसि	इस्	इस्	इएँ	
3.	इयाछे	इअछइ	ऐ-सि	इ-स्	यो	इओ	इओ

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इआ		यो		यौ		आ	
2.	इआ		यो		यौ		आ	
3.	इआ	इआ	यो	यो	यौ	यौ	आ	आ

Plural.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाछि	इअछुँ	ऐन्हि	आ	यूँ	इआसी॑	
2.	इयाछ	इअछ	ऐहु	यौ	यौ	यउ॑	
3.	इयाछेन्	इअइंति	ऐन्हि	इन्	या [3])	इआ	इआ

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	ए		या		ए		ए	
2.	ए		या		ए		ए	
3.	ए	ए	या	या	ए	ए	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एछि, एछे, etc.; thus करियाछि is pronounced करेछि *karechhi*, not *kariyáchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night", but pronounce „nite". The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अछि curtailed into छि. The older forms इयाछि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. छ *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाछि (or rather करेछि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इओसि m., इआसि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the fem. sg., N. यो, S. इअो, P. इआ, G. यो, W. H. यौ and H. H. या are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इअसि, 2. इएँ or इआँ; fem. pl., N. या, P. ए, G. या, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ईं, and S. has 1. इउँसीं, 2. and 3. इउँ.

Note: The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. छलोँ, B. आछिलाम्, O. थेलि *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इअ or इ. The part. termin. इअ is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पढ़ैछलोँ, B. पढ़िआछिलाम्, O. पढ़िथेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐछले, B. आछिलि, O. इथेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐछल्, B. आछिलि, O. इथेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐछलोँ, B. आछिलाम्, O. इथेलुँ; 2. pl. Mth. ऐछलोँ, B. आछिले, O. इथेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐछलाह्, B. आछिलेन्, O. इथेलें.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	अलोँ (or अल्योँ)	अल्यूँ
2.	अलेस् (intr.) or अले	अलिस् or अली
3.	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	अली	अली
2.	अलह् or अल (or अल्यह्)	अल्यू
3.	अलेन् or अलैँ	अलिन् or अलीँ

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेस्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेस् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

Note: In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलोँ, इल्यूँ, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in অল্ or ইল্, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in অলা. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs[1]). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. ऊ पाथी पढ़लेस्, B. ओ पोथी पढ़िल्, O. से पोथी पढ़िला, M. त्या ने पोथी वाचिल्ली (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally तो पोथी पढ़ला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. উঁ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. পঢ়ল + উঁ = E. H. পঢ়লো *I read*, fem. পঢ়লি + উঁ = E. H. পঢ়ল্যুঁ; here the final ঊঁ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form পঢ়লো = পঢ়লিঅ + উঁ. Again strong form, masc. পঢ়লা + উঁ = M. পঢ়লো; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ইঁ; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., পঢ়তো = পঢ়তিঅ (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ইঁ = M. পঢ়ये or পঢ়ते *I read*; similarly পঢ়লো = পঢ়লিঅ + ইঁ = পঢ়লে *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either উঁ or ইঁ; thus পঢ়লो or পঢ়লে. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. ই (a shortened form of অইঁ), as in its pres. indic.; thus পঢ়িলি *I read*, just as অছই or অছি *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. আম্, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. আমি (see § 497, 2); thus পঢ়িলাম্ (= Mg. *পঢ়িহ্দামি denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. সি or, shortened, স্ occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. রহল + সি = E. H. রহলেস্ with transfer of ই into the preceding syllable; fem. রহলি + স্ = E. H. রহলিস্ *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. পঢ়লা + স্ = M. পঢ়লাস্, fem. পঢ়লো + স্ = M. পঢ়লোস্, neut. পঢ়লে + স্ = M. পঢ়লेंस् with an anomalous anunásika; for the suff. স্ is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. পঢ়লে instead of to the neut. base পঢ়লে

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= *पढलय = Mg. पढिद्य = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + हि = E. H. पढले or (shortened) B. पढिलि; fem. पढलि + हि = E. H. पढली *thou readst.* The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पढिलु, just as in the O. pres. indic. पढु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पढलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intrans. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पढला m., पढली f., पढले ँ n. *he read,* गेला m., गेली f., गेले ँ n. *he went,* O. पढिला, गला c. g., B. पढिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पढलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. ऊँ is found in M. and O.; thus M. पढलो ँ c. g. or (shortened) O. पढलुँ c. g. *we read.* The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ई (but without anunásika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पढली c. g. *we read* just as पढी ँ *we read.* And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. आम्; thus पढिलाम् (= Mg. *पढिद्दाम denom., or *पढिद्दाम्ह). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पढलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पढलिअ + हु = E. H. पढल्हू *you read.* Otherwise the 2. pl. ह or हं is used; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + ह = E. H. पढलह् or (dropping ह्, § 32) पढल *parhala,* O. पढिल c. g.; the B. पढिले c. g. apparently contracts final अह *aha* to ए or stands for पढले ँ, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पढिले). Or st. f. पढला + हं = M. पढलाँ c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + नि = E. H. पढलेन्, B. पढिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पढलि + न् = E. H. पढलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ ँ in the masc. पढलै ँ *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पढली ँ, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पढै ँ *they read.* O. omits the anunásika, पढिले for *पढिले ँ. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पढले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. अल्यो ँ and 2. pl. अल्यह्, they contain probably the strong part. termin. अलय, with euph. य् for अलअ; thus Skr. denom. *पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. *पढिद्दअमि or *पढिद्दयमि, Ap. *पढिद्दयउं, E. H. पढिल्यो ँ or पढल्यो ँ. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि	अलोँ m., अल्यूँ f.	अलोँ m., अलेँ f., अलोँ or अलेँ n.
2.	इलि	इलु	अलेस् m., अलिस् f.	अलास् m., अलीस् f., अलेँस् n.
3.	इल्	इला	अलेस् c. g., अल् c. g.	अला m., अली f., अलेँ n.

Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलुँ	अली c. g.	अलोँ c. g.
2.	इले	इल	अलह् m., अल्यू f.	अलाँ c. g.
3.	इलेन्	इले	अलेन् m., अलिन् f.	अले m., अल्या f., अलोँ n.

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in अत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अतोँ (or अत्योँ)	अत्यूँ	अती or इत्	अती or इत्
2.	अतेस् or अते	अतिस् or अती	अतह् or अत (or अत्यह्)	अत्यू
3.	अत् or अतै	अत् or अतै	अतेन् or अतैँ	अतिन् or अतैँ

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पऊतेउँ or पऊतउं, E. H. पऊत्योँ or पऊतोँ *(if) I read,* B. पढिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पढंति (Sn. 32), M. पऊतोँ (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पऊतौ or पऊतो, H. H. पऊता (Kl. 167, a), P. पऊदा (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पऊतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पऊतिउँ or पऊतेउँ, E. H. पऊत्यूँ, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पढते॑, but W. H., H. H., G. पढती, P. पढ्दी; neut. M. पढतो॑, but G. पढतुँ, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत, instead of in अत (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पढतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पढंतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पढतास् *(if) thou readst* is rather a denom. formation पढता + सि = Pr. *पढंतअ-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gḍs. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.[1]). Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 जइ जाणंतोऽसि णा कुणंतो *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do.* This would be in M. जइ जानतास् न करितास्, E. H. जो जानतेस् न करितेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gḍ. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gḍ. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gḍ. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1st and 2nd pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंति	अतो॑ m., अत्यूँ f.	अतो॑ m., अते॑ f., अतो॑ n.
2.	इतिन्	अंतु	अतेस् m., अतिस् f.	अतास् m., अतीस् f., अते॑स् n.
3.	इत्	अंता	अत् c. g.	अता m., अती f., अते॑ n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अतो m., अती f., अतुँ n.	अतौ m., अती f.	अता m., अती f.	अद्‌ा m., अद्‌ी f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	अंतुँ	अती or इत् c. g.	अतो॑ c. g.
2.	इत	अंत	अतह् m., अत्यू f.	अताँ c. g.
3.	इतेन्	अंते	अतेन् m., अतिन् f.	अते m., अत्या f., अती॑ n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	अता m., अती f., अताँ n.	अते m., अती॑ f.	अते m., अती f.	अद्‌े m., अद्‌ीअाँ f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

508. *Future indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in अब् or इब् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अबो॑	अब्यूँ	अबै or अब्	अबै or अब्
2.	अबेस् or अबे	अबिस् or अबी	अबह् or अब	अब्यू or अबू
3.	ई	ई	इहैं	इहैं

With the part. termin. इब् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इबो॑ m., इब्यूँ f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

Note: Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gḍ., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or श्, 3) ब् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ग्, 6) ड्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इश्श) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gḍ. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह-*type* is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read,* Pr. (a) पढिहिइ or (b) *पढिहइ, whence O. H. (b) पढिहइ or पढिहिहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पढिहै, Mw. (a) पढ़ही, E. H. पढ़ी (contracted for *पढिई for *पढिही); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read,* Pr. (a) पढिहिंति or (b) *पढिहंति, whence O. H. (b) पढिहहिं, Br. and E. H. पढिहैं, Mw. (a) पढ़ही (for *पढ़हीं). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precative (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gḍ. ईस् or अस् (or ईश् or अश्), and the fut. of this स-*type* is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पढिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पढिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read;* O. P. (a) पढ़सा, Mw. पढ़िसूँ (= Ap. Pr. *पढिस्सउं), G. (b) पढ़ीश्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read,* Pr. पढिस्सइ, O. P. पढ़सी, Mw. पढ़सी, G. पढ़शे. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gḍ. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the ब-*type* is confined to the E. Gḍs. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the ब् or व् may be changed to म् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पढ़बो *I shall read,* B. पढिब (S. Ch. 146), O. पढिवि or पढिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पढ़ब्यूँ, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the ब्-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह्-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पढिबेन्, O. पढिबे or पढिमे, but E. H.

पढ़िहैं. A tense of the ह्-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. म्यां झोडावा (Man. 73), G. मारे छोडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मैं छोड्बो *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देवु *you will give* or *give ye*; the same in E. H. would be देब *deba*. — 4) The fut. of the ल्-*type* exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the ग्-*type* only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) *come* and गयो (or गया) *gone* to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गो (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हुँ *I am* (e. g., पढ़ूँनेहुँ *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़ूँ *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to न्. A tense of the ल्-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the ग्-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढ़े-ल् or -लो = M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैलो, N. पढ़ला (with पढ़ for पढ़े, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़ली *she will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढ़ति + इल् = पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ैला, N. पढ़लान् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् (wk. f.) or पढ़नन् (= पढ़ + ल or ला + न्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़लीन् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् or पढ़नन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढ़ै + गो = Br. पढ़ैगो, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैगी, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढ़ैंगे, H. H. पढ़ेंगे, P. पढ़णगे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ैंगी, H. H. पढ़ेंगी, P. पढ़णगीआँ, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हैगो, P.

हैगा *he is,* 3. pl. Kn. हैंगे, P. ह्नगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैंगी, P. ह्नगीअाँ; P. has optionally है *he is,* ह्न् *they are*; H. H. has है, हैं, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगो f. *he (she) will be,* pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be,* Kn. होएगे, होएँगे m., °गो f.; P. होवेगा, होणगे m., °गी, °गीअाँ f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढ़ैगौ *he is gone (that) he may read,* पढ़ेल् or पढ़ैलो *he is come (that) he may read,* etc., compare the English: *he is going* (or *coming*) *to read.* — 6) The fut. of the द्-*type* is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in अंदु or ईंदु the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंदु + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिअसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदे, fem. हलंदिए or हलंदिअाँ; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading,* etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईशू्	असूँ or अहूँ	इहौं	अब्रों or इब्रों	इब्र	इबि
2.	अग्गे	असी or अही	इहै	अब्रेस् or इब्रेस्	इब्रि	इबु
3.	अग्गे	असी or अही	इहै	ई	इब्रे	इब्

	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	औंगौ	ऊँगा	अाँगा	एन्	ऊँला or अनेछुँ	अंदुसि
2.	एगौं	एगा	एँगा	असील्	अलास् or अनस्	अंदे
3.	एगौ	एगा	एगा	एल्	अला or अनेछ	अंदो

Plural.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईशूँ	असाँ or अहाँ	इहैं	अब्रै or इब्रै	इब्र	इबा
2.	अग्गो	असो or अहो	इहौ	अब्रह् or इब्रह्	इब्रा	इव
3.	अग्गे	असी or अही	इहैं	इहैं	इब्रेन्	इबे

	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	एंगे	एँगे	अाँगे	ऊँ	ऊँला or ऊँनेछूँ	अंदासीं
2.	औगे	औगे	औगे	आल्	अलउ or उनेछौ	अंदउ
3.	एंगे	एँगे	अणगे	अलील्	अलान or अनन्	अंदा

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final औ or आ changes to ई, as Br. औंगी, P. अाँगी, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or आ

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईआँ, as Br. ऐँगी, N. ऊँली, P. आँगोआँ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. अंदिआसि, 2. अंदिएँ or अंदिआँ, 3. अंदी; pl. 1. अंदिऊसीँ, 2. and 3. अंदिऊँ. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in अत् (§ 298) or to the past part. in अल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite* or *durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ़त् बाटै or पढ़त् हौवै *he is reading.*

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ़त् होय् *(if) he be reading.*

3) The *definite preterite* or the *perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले बाटै or पढ़ले हौवै *he has read.*

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होय *(if) he have read.*

5) The *durative* or *habitual preterite* or the *imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ़त् रहल् *he was reading.*

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पढ़त् होतै *(if) he were reading.*

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले रहल् *he had read.*

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होतै *(if) he had read.*

9) The *durative future indicative* or *present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पढ़त् होई *he will be reading.*

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative,* made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as पढ़ले होई *he will have read.*

Note: For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus पढ़ते *(if) he read.* This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form अले, instead of अल्, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is अल्, as usual; e. g., trans. पढ़ले बाटो॑ *I have read,* but intr. रहल् बाटो॑ *I have remained.* The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. पढ़त् बाटो॑, fem. पढ़त् बाँयू॑ *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. पढ़ले होवै॑, fem. पढ़ले हईं॑ *they have read.*

Note: The form in अले is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus पढ़ले बाटो॑ means lit., *on having read I am.* Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. पड़िते छि॑ lit. *on reading I am,* i. e., *I am reading*; B. पड़िते छिलाम् lit. *on reading I was,* i. e., *I was reading.*

512. *Affinities.* Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. पढ़ु अछइ *he is reading,* B. पड़िते छे or पo आछे; but E. H.

पऊन् आटै or हौवै, N. पऊदू ह, Gw. पऊदू or पऊदो ह, Br. पऊतु or पऊतौ है, Mw. पऊतो है, H. H. पऊता है, P. पऊदा है, S. पऊंदो आहे, G. पऊतो होयछे; again M. पऊन् आहे or पऊतो आहे or पऊन् असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पऊदू or पऊ दी ह, Br. पऊति or पऊती है, H. H. पऊती है, P. पऊ दी है, S. पऊंदी आहे, G. पऊती होयछे, M. पऊन् आहे or पऊती आहे or पऊन् असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) आटै or आटै *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) हौवै *he is*. The verb आटै is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहब् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective आटै. The verb हौवै is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb आटै are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

Note 1: When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was", precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained", as the past tense of रहब् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

Note 2: The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होब् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became", and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहत् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहत् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भयौ (auxil. थो), M. झाला (aux. होता or असे), G. हवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb आटै. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. वाटणें *to appear* (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form बतानौं), S. वतणु *to continue* (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वत् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिस्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्त्तते, Pr. वट्टइ, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्तइ comes the E. H. बाय् (for बाइ) or बा by the elision of त (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms बाटै, बाटां, etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्त, P. वट्ट (H. C. 2, 29) *existing* (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट्टम्हि, Ap. Pr. *वट्टउं, E. H. बाटों *I am*; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्टिआम्हि, Ap. Pr. *वट्टिअम्हि or *वट्टिअउं, E. H. बायूँ, etc. — 2) The verb रहब् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2nd pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain". It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइब् *to be* occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होय्, Pr. होइ or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत, Pr. हविअ (§ 307, 7) *being* or *been*. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. हविअम्हि, Ap. Pr. *हविअउं, E. H. हउओं or हौओं or हौवों (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. हविआम्हि, Ap. Pr. *हविअउं, E. H. हउं or हयूँ (§ 123) *I am*, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलों *I am*, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ख to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होख, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होखन् *to be*; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होखैलेस् or °ले, fem. होखैलिस् or °ली; 2. pl. masc. होखैलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ख; thus 3. sg. masc. नैखै *he is not*, fem. नैखै or नैखो *she is not*, etc. (see § 518)[1]). The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. क्त or स्क. Just as the R. अस् *to be* forms in Pr. an inchoative अच्छ (= अत्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव or हव or हो (cf. H. C. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative *हुवक्ख or *हवक्ख or *होक्ख (= भुक्त or भुस्क), in E. H. होख. The negative form नैख appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न *not*. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or आहे or है *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gḍ., N. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gḍ. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउँ or हौं	अहेउँ or हौं	आहिं	आहियाँ	हौं	हूँ	हाँ	हुँ	हूँ
2.	अहसि or अहहि or है	अहेस् or अहे	आहेस्	आहेँ or आहीँ	है	है	है	हस्?	है
3.	अहइ or अहै or आहि	अहै	आहे	आहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

Plural.

1.	अहहिँ or हहिँ	अही	आहीं	आहियूँ	हैं	हाँ	हाँ	हूँ?	हैं
2.	अहहु or हहु	अहह् or अहो or अहेँ	आहाँ	आहियो	हौ	हो	हो	हौ	हो
3.	अहहिँ or हहिँ or आहैँ	अहेन् or अहैँ	आहेत्	आहिनि or आहीनि	हैं	है	हन् or हैन्	हुन्	हैं

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नाखे *he is not* and an affirmative खे *he is*, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. अस् *to be* (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of स् to ह्, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. अस् is of the II. cl., while the Gḍ. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. अहउँ represents a Skr. form *असामि, Pr. *अहमि, Ap. *अहउं (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gḍ. अहै = Skr. *असति, Pr. *अहइ. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as for as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. अस्. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial आ in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gḍ. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. भू *to be.* This root may become in Pr. हव (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gḍ. ह्; thus 3. sg. Skr. भवति, Pr. हवइ, Mw. ह्वै (Kl. 232). The form ह्वै would easily become है. On the other hand, instead of suppressing अ, it (or rather ह्, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. हव might become in Gḍ. अह and thence आह, with आ as compensation for the elided व्; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. हवइ = *अहइ = Bs. अहै or M. आहे, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. भवंति is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to भंति or हंति (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become हैं in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occuring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहींस्, 3. नाहीं; plur. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत्. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., *pres.* sing. 1. नव्हे, 2. नव्हेस् or नव्हस्, 3. नव्हे; plur. 1. नव्हों or नव्हे, 2. नव्हाँ or नव्हेत्, 3. नव्हेत् or नव्हत्; *pret.* sing. masc. 1. नव्हतों, 2. नव्हतास्, 3. नव्हता; plur. 1. नव्हतों, 2. नव्हतां, 3. नव्हते. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb होइब् (M. होणें), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb असणें (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial अ to न; e. g., inf. नसणें; 1. sg. pres. ind. नसतों *I am not,* from असतों *I am,* etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb अहइ or अहे or है *he is.* It occurs in the S. Gḍ. and N. Gḍ., in all W. Gḍs. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gḍs. (exc. Bh.

and Bs.). In M. it has a complete conjugation (Man. 84—86), even in a negative form, see Nro. 4; in B., Mth., Mw., P., Km. it exists in the pres. and pret. tenses; and the rest have it only in the pres. tense. In S. even the pres. is fragmentary. In M., P. and S., ह् is changed to ध् (see § 11). In B., though ह् is written, ध् is commonly pronounced, see footnote on p. 349. The following comparative table shows the various forms of this auxil. verb:

Present. Singular.

	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अहि or अहिं	अहि or अहिं	अहीं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहि	अहे
2.	अहु	अहिस	अहीं	अहस	अहस	अहस	अहस	अहीं	अहि	अहस
3.	अहइ	अहे	अहि	अह	अह	अह	अह	अहे	अहि	अहस

Present. Plural.

	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अहु?	अहि	अही	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं	अहुं or अहुं	अहुं
2.	अहु	अह	अही	अहो	अहो	अहो	अहो	अहो?	अहां	अहां
3.	अहंति	अहिन	अहिं	अहिं	अहिं	अहिं	अहिं	अहिं	अहिं	अहत

Preterite. Singular.

	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अछिलाम्	अछिलाम्	हलों	हलुं	हिया	हो	हुंय	सा	desunt	अस्तों m., °ले f., °लों n.
2.	अछिले	अछिले	हले	हलस	हिया	हो	हो	सा	desunt	अस्तलास् m., °लीस् f., °ले स् n.
3.	अछिल	अछिल	हल	हल	हिया	हो	हो	सा	desunt	अस्तला m., °ली f., °ले n.

Preterite. Plural.

	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अछिलाम्	अछिलाम्	हलों	हलुं	हिया	हा	हा	सा	desunt	अस्तों c. g.
2.	अछिलन्	अछिलन्	हलों	हलस	हिया	हा	हा	सा	desunt	अस्तों c. g.
3.	अछिलन्	अछिलन्	हलाह	हल	हिया	हा	हा	सा	desunt	अस्ते m., °त्या f., °ली n.

The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असें, P. सौं *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. छिया, Mw. छो, P. सा are masc. and change in the fem. to छी and सी; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2nd pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतों, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the imper. असूं, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. छैनस् = M. असशील् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असूं or असणें (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असतां, which I have also found in N. as छंदा *on being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अछइ *he is*, etc. The R. अछ (= अच्छ or अस्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) आस् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अथ = Pr. अत्थि, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अथमि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्थि is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्थि अहं *I am*, अत्थि अम्हे *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb थाय् or थिए् *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

Preterite. Singular.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेल्लि c. g.	थियें or थें c. g.	थिउसे m., थिअसे f.	थो m., थी f.
2.	थेल्लु c. g.	थियेस् or थिस् c. g.	थिएँ m., थिअाँ f.	थो m., थी f.
3.	थेल्ला c. g.	थियो or थ्यो m., थिई् f.	थिओ m., थी f.	थो m., थी f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
2.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.
3.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयो f., थयुँ n.

Preterite. Plural.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेल्लुँ c. g.	थिऊँ or थ्यूँ c. g.	थिन्नासो m., थिऊँसी f.	थे m., थी f.
2.	थेल्ल c. g.	थियौ or थ्यौ c. g.	थिन्नउ m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थी f.
3.	थेल्ले c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिन्ना m., थिऊँ f.	थे m., थी f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थीआँ f.	थया m., थयी f., थयाँ n.
2.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थीआँ f.	थया m., थयी f., थयाँ n.
3.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थीआँ f.	थया m., थयी f., थयाँ n.

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउँ, S. थिआँ; 2. sg. G. थाए्, S. थिएँ or थीँ; 3. sg. G. थाए्, S. थिए्; 1. pl. G. थये or थैये, S. थिऊँ; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिअन् or थीन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउँ कुँ, etc., S. थिआँ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थैश्, etc., S. थींदुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाज़े, etc., S. थीऊ or थीज़े, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवुँ, S. थिअणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थींदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थताँ, S. थींदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist,* which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाइ (H. C. 4, 436) or थाइ, G. थाए्; 3. pl. Pr. थंति (H. C. 4, 395) or *थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाए्. The S. थिअणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. पिअणु *to drink,* from R. पा, S. दिअणु *to give,* from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form *स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पिब, दद्.

THIRTH CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.

1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIATY VERB.

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रहब् *to remain* and the rest from the complete auxil. verb होब् *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. बाटो॑ [1])	बाएँ	बाटी	बाटी
2. बाटेस् or बाटे	बाटिस् or बाटी	बाटह् or बाट	बाऊ
3. बाटै or बाए् or बा	बाटै or बाए् or बा	बाटै॑	बाटी॑

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रहलो॑	रहल्यूँ	रहलो	रहली
2. रहलेस् or रहले	रहलिस् or रहली	रहलह् or रहल	रहल्यू
3. रहल्	रहल्	रहलेन् or रहलै॑	रहलिन् or रहली॑

2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रहब् *to remain, to dwell*; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. हौवो॑ [2])	हएँ	हई	हई
2. हौवे	हौवी	हौवह् or हौव	हयू
3. हौवै or हो	हौवै or हौ	हौवै॑	हई॑

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होब्बो॑ or होइब्बो॑	होब्बै or होइब्बै or होब्ब् or होइब्ब्
2. होब्बेस् or होइब्बेस् or होब्बे or होइब्बे [3])	होब्बह् or होइब्बह् or होब्ब or होइब्ब
3. होई	होइहै॑

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् *v* or ब् *b*, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ङ् or ञ् (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होब्बिस् or होब्बी or होइब्बिस् or होइब्बी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be,* etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होँहुँ	होँई॑ँ
2. हो	होह् or हो
3. होय	होँय्

e) Preterite tense: *I were,* etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होतो॑ँ or होत्यो॑ँ	होत्यूँ	होइत्	होइत्
2. होतेस् or होते	होतिस् or होती	होतह् or होत	होत्यू
3. होत् or होतै	होत् or होतै	होतेन् or हेतै॑ँ	होतिन् or होती॑ँ

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be,* etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am,* etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखँलो॑ँ	होखँल्यूँ	होखीला	होखीला
2. होखँलेस् or °ले	होखँलिस or °ली	होखँलह् or °ल	होखँल्यू
3. होखँला	होखँले	होखँलै॑ँ	होखँलो॑ँ

b) First preterite: *I was,* etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होख्यो॑ँ	होखा
2. होखिस्	होख्यू
3. होखिस्	होखिन्

Or: Second preterite.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखलो॑ँ	होखल्यूँ	होखली	होखली
2. होखलेस् or °ले	होखलिस् or °ली	होखलह् or °ल	होखल्यू
3. होखल्	होखल्	होखलै॑ँ	होखलो॑ँ

c) Future tense: *I shall be,* etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	होखबो ँ [1])	होखबूँ	होखब् or °बै	होखब् or °बै
2.	होखबेस् or °बे	होखबिस् or बी	होखबह् or °ब	होखब्यू
3.	होखी	होखी	होखिहैं	होखिहैं

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be,* etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	होखो ँ	होखी ँ
2.	होखु	होखह् or होख
3.	होखे	होखैं

e) Preterite tense: *I were,* etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	होखतो ँ or °त्यो ँ	होखत्यूँ	होखती or °खित्	होखती or °खित्
2.	होखतेस् or °ते	होखतिस् or °ती	होखतह् or °त	होखत्यू
3.	होखतै or °त्	होखतै or °त्	होखतैं	होखती ँ

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be,* etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ब *to read,* see § 521; e. g., मैं ँ होखत् बाटौं ँ *I am being,* etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखत् *being,* past होखल् *been.*

Conjunctive: होखे के *having been.*

Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being,* past होखले *on having been.*

Infinitives.

Nom. होखब् *to be,* acc. होखे के or होखबे के, etc.

4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबो ँ, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. नैखो॑ or नैखूँ	नैख्यूँ [1])	नैखी	नैखी
2. नैखेस् or नैखे	नैखिस् or नैखो	नैखह् or नैख	नैख्यू [1])
3. नैखे	नैखी [1])	नै॑खै॑	नै॑खी॑ [1])

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. य् to verbs in ई, and व् to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520. The elements.

पढ॑ऱ् *to read*; root पढ़्; bases पढ॑त्, पढ॑ल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पढ॑लो॑ or °ल्यो॑	पढ॑ल्यूँ	पढ॑ीला	पढ॑ीला
2. पढ॑लेस् or °ले	पढ॑लिस् or °लो	पढ॑लह् or °ल or °ल्यह्	पढ॑ल्यू
3. पढ॑ला [2])	पढ॑ले	पढ॑लेन् or पढ॑लै॑	पढ॑लिन् or °ली॑

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पढ॑लो॑, पढ॑लेस्, पढ॑ला, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पढ्यो॑	पढा
2.	पढिस्	पढ्यौ
3.	पढिस्	पढिन्

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्लो॑ or °ल्यो॑	पढल्यूँ	पढ्ली	पढ्लो
2.	पढ्ले	पढ्लिस् or °ली	पढ्लह् or °ल or °ल्यह्	पढल्यू
3.	पढ्लेस्	पढ्लेस्	पढ्लेन् or °लै॑	पढ्लिन् or °ली॑

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.[1])	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्बो॑[2])	पढ्बूँ	पढ्ब् or °बै	पढ्ब् or °बै
2.	पढ्बेस् or °बे	पढ्बिस् or °बी	पढ्बह् or °ब	पढ्ब्यू or °बू
3.	पढ्बी	पढ्बी	पढ्बिहैं॑	पढ्बिहैं॑

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पढ्बो॑	पढ्बी॑
2.	पढु or पढ्	पढह् or पढ
3.	पढै	पढै॑

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्तो॑ or °त्यो॑	पढ्त्यूँ	पढ्ती or पढित्	पढ्ती or पढित्
2.	पढ्तेस् or °ते	पढ्तिस् or °ती	पढ्तह् or °त or °त्यह्	पढ्त्यू
3.	पढ्त् or °तै	पढ्त् or °तै	पढ्तेन् or °तै॑	पढ्तिन् or °ती॑

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पढिहे, 2. plur. पढिह्.

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1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पढिब्यो॑, पढिबेस्, and so on throughout.

521. The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.[1]
1.	पऊत् बाटो॑ or प° हौवो॑	पऊत् बाय्ँ or प° हय्ँ
2.	पऊत् बाटेस् or बाटे or हौवे	पऊत् बाटिस् or बाटी or हौवी
3.	पऊत् बाटै or बाय् or बा or हौवै or हौ	पऊत् बाटै or हौवै etc.
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऊत् बाटी or प° हई	पऊत् बाटी or प° हई
2.	पऊत् बाटह् or बाट or हौवह् or हौव	पऊत् बाय् or हय्
3.	पऊत् बाटै॑ or हौवै॑	पऊत् बाटी॑ or हई॑

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऊत् रहलो॑	पऊत् रहल्यूँ
2.	पऊत् रहलेस् or °ले	पऊत् रहलिस् or °ली
3.	पऊत् रहल्	पऊत् रहल्
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऊत् रहली	पऊत् रहली
2.	पऊत् रहलह् or °ल	पऊत् रहल्यू
3.	पऊत् रहलेन् or °लै॑	पऊत् रहलिन् or °ली॑

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऊत् होबो॑ or प° होखबो॑[2]	पऊत् होबै or प° होखबै
2.	पऊत् होबेस् or प° होखबेस्	पऊत् होबह् or प° होखबह्
3.	पऊत् होई or प° होखी	पऊत् होइहै॑ or प° होखिहै॑

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.[1]
1.	पऊले बाटो॑ or प° हौवो॑	पऊले बाय्ँ or हय्ँ
2.	पऊले बाटेस् or बाटे or हौवे	पऊले बाटिस् or बाटी or हौवी
3.	पऊले बाटै or बाय् or बा or हौवै or हौ	पऊले बाटै or हौवै etc.

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प° होइबो॑ or प° होखिबो॑, etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.

	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऊले बाटी or प° हई	पऊले बाटी or प° हई
2.	पऊले बाटह् or बाट or हौवह् or हौव	पऊले बाबू or हयू
3.	पऊले बाटैं or हौवैं	पऊले बाटीं or हईं

l) Pluperfect: *I had read,* etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऊले रहलों	पऊले रहल्यू
2.	पऊले रहलेस् or °ले	पऊले रहलिस् or °ली
3.	पऊले रहल्	पऊले रहल्
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऊले रहली	पऊले रहली
2.	पऊले रहलह् or °ल	पऊले रहल्यू
3.	पऊले रहलेन् or °लैं	पऊले रहलिन् or °लीं

m) Future exact: *I shall have read,* etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऊले होबों or प° होखबों	पऊले होबै or प° होखबै
2.	पऊले होबेस् or प° होखबेस्	पऊले होबह् or प° होखबह्
3.	पऊले होई or प° होखी	पऊलें होइहैं or प° होखिहैं

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: *(if) I be reading,* etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऊत् होंहुँ or प° होखुँ	पऊत् होईं or प° होखीं
2.	पऊत् हो or प° होखु	पऊत् होह् or हो or प° होखह् or होख
3.	पऊत् होय् or प° होखै	पऊत् होयँ or प° होखैं

o) Durative pres. condit.: *(if) I were reading,* etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऊत् होतों	पऊत् होत्यूँ
2.	पऊत् होतेस् or प° होते	पऊत् होतिस् or प° होती
3.	पऊत् होत् or प° होतै	पऊत् होत् or प° होतै
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऊत् होइत्	पऊत् होइत्
2.	पऊत् होतह् or प° होत	पऊत् होत्यू
3.	पऊत् होतेन् or प° होतैं	पऊत् होतिन् or प° होतीं

p) Fut. exact condit.: *(if) I have read,* etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऱले हो॑हुँ or प° होखो॑	पऱले होई॑ or प° होखी॑
2.	पऱले हो or प° होखु	पऱले होह् or प° होखह् etc.
3.	पऱले होय् or प° होखै	पऱले होयँ or प° होखै॑

q) Preterite condit.: *(if) I had read,* etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऱले होतो॑	पऱले होत्यूँ
2.	पऱले होतेस् or प° होते	पऱले होतिस् or होती
3.	पऱले होत् or प° होतै	पऱले होत् or होतै
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱले होइत्	पऱले होइत्
2.	पऱले होतह् or प° होत	पऱले होत्यू
3.	पऱले होतेन् or प° होतै॑	पऱले होतिन् or प° होती॑

522. Participles.

a) Adjectival: pres. पऱत् *reading,* past पऱल् *having read* or *read.*

b) Conjunctive: पऱ् के or पढ़े के *having read.*

c) Adverbial: pres. पऱते or पऱतै *on reading,* past पऱले *on having read.*

Infinitives.

Nom. पऱब् *to read,* acc. पऱबे के or पढ़ै के *for to read* or *for reading,* instr. पऱबे से or पढ़ै से, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पऱनिहार् *reader,* or fem. पऱनिहारी.

6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523. Elements.

a)	रहब् *dwell,*	root	रह्,	bases	रहत्, रहल्
b)	पीयब् *drink,*	„	पी or पीय्,	„	पीयत्, पीयल्
c)	चूअब् *drip,*	„	चू,	„	चूअत्, चूअल्
	or चूवब्,	„	(चूव्),	„	चूवत्, चूवल्
d)	रोअब् *weep,*	„	रो,	„	रोअत्, रोअल्
	or रोवब्,	„	(रोव्)	„	रोवत्, रोवल्.

a) Present indicative.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहैला	रहैले	plur.	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
	b)	पीयैला	पीयैले		पीयैलेन्	पीयैलिन्
	c)	चूऐला	चूऐले		चूऐलेन्	चूऐलिन्
	d)	रोऐला	रोऐले		रोऐलेन्	रोऐलिन्

b) First preterite.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहिस्	plur.	रहिन्
	b)	पीयिस्		पीयिन्
	c)	चूइस्		चूइन्
	d)	रोइस्		रोइन्

Second preterite.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहल्	रहल्	plur.	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
	b)	पियलेस्	पियलेस्		पीयलेन्	पीयलिन्
	c)	चूअल्	चूअल्		चूअलेन्	चूअलिन्
	d)	रोअल्	रोअल्		रोअलेन्	रोअलिन्

c) Future indicative [1]).

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रही	plur.	रहिहैँ
	b)	पी or पीई		पीहैँ
	c)	चूई		चूइहैँ
	d)	रोई		रोइहैँ

d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहै	plur.	रहैँ
	b)	पीयै		पीयैँ
	c)	चूऐ		चूऐँ
	d)	रोऐ		रोऐँ

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहबोँ or रहिबोँ; पियबोँ or पीबोँ; चुअबोँ or चुइबोँ; रोअबोँ or रोइबोँ.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहत् or रहतै	plur.	रहतेन्	रहतिन्
	b)	पीयत् or पीयतै		पीयतेन्	पीयतिन्
	c)	चूअत् or चूंअतै		चूअतेन्	चूअतिन्
	d)	रोअत् or रोअतै		रोअतेन्	रोअतिन्

f) Precative forms.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
2. pers. sing.	a)	रहिहे	plur.	रहिह
	b)	पोहे		पीह
	c)	चूइहे		चूइह
	d)	रोइहे		रोइह

g) Durative or definite present.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहत् बाटै or र° हौवै	plur.	रहत् बाटैं or हौवैं	र° बाटीं or हईं
	b)	पीयत् बाटै or प° हौवै		पीयत् बाटैं or हौवैं	पी° बाटीं or हईं
	c)	चूअत् बाटै or चू° हौवै		चूअत् बाटैं or हौवैं	चू° बाटीं or हईं
	d)	रोअत् बाटै or रो° हौवै		रोअत् बाटैं or हौवैं	रो° बाटीं or हईं

l) Pluperfect indicative.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहल् रहल्	plur.	रहल् रहलेन्	रहल् रहलिन्
	b)	पीयले रहल्		पीयले रहलेन्	पीयले रहलिन्
	c)	चूअल् रहल्		चूअल् रहलेन्	चूअल् रहलिन्
	d)	रोअल् रहल्		रोअल् रहलेन्	रोअल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524. Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	रहत् रहल्	रहे के[1])	रहते रहले
b)	पीयत् पीयल्	पी के	पीयते पीयले
c)	चूअत् चूंअल्	चूय् के	चूअते चूअले
d)	रोअत् रोअल्	रोय् के	रोअते रोअले

1) Or: रहे के, पीऐ के, etc.

Infinitives.

a) रहब् Acc. रहै के or रहबे के
b) पीयब् „ पीयै के or पीबे के
c) चूअब् „ चूऐ के or चूअबे के
d) रोअब् „ रोऐं के or रोअबे के

Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहारू, b) पीयनिहारू, c) चूअनिहारू, d) रोअनिहारू; fem. °री.

7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, न् and ब् instead of ऐल् or अल् (of the pres. indic.), अत् (of the pres. part.) and अब् or इब् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in आ and ए and by the root हो *be*. But the roots in आ and the R. हो may optionally take इब्.

Secondly; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: करू *do*, धरू *put*, आव् *come*, पाव् *find*, जा *go*, दे *give*, ले *take*, हो *be*.

Thirdly; the two verbal roots दे *give* and ले *take* add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that आव or अव, आय or अय, आइ or अइ are often contracted into औ or ऐ respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाब् *to eat*, जाब् *to go*, देब् *to give*, होब् *to be*, करब् *to do*, आवब् *to come*. All other verbs in आ are conjugated like खाब्; लेब् *to take* is conjugated like देब्, धरब् *to put* like करब्, पावब् *to find* like आवब्.

526. a) Present indicative.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	जालों	जाला	जाईला	जालेन्
b)	देलों	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c)	होलों	होला	होईला	होलेन्

b) First preterite.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	गयो॑	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्
b)	दियो॑	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्
c)	भयो॑	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्
d)	कियो॑	किहिस्	किया	किहिन्
e)	आयो॑	आइस्	आया	आइन्
f)	खायो॑	खाइस्	खाया	खाइन्

Second preterite.

a)	गइलो॑ [1])	गयल् [1])	गइली [1])	गइलेन् [1])
b)	दिहलो॑	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् [1])
c)	भइलो॑ [1])	भयल् [1])	भइली [1])	भइलेन् [1])
d)	कइलो॑ [1])	कइलेस् [1])	कइली [1])	कइलेन् [1])
e)	अइलो॑ [1])	आयल् [1])	अइली [1])	अइलेन् [1])
f)	खइलो॑ [1])	खइलेस् [1])	खइली [1])	खइलेन् [1])

c) Future.

a)	जाबो॑ [2])	जाई	जाब् or जाबै [2])	जइहै॑ [2])
b)	देबो॑	देई	देब् or देबै	देइहै॑
c)	होबो॑ [3])	होई	होब् or होबै	होइहै॑

d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

	1. sg.	2. sg. [4])	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. [5])	3. pl.
a)	जाँव॑	जा	जाय	जाँई॑	जाह्	जाँयँ॑
b)	यो॑	दे	दे	देई॑	देह्	दे॑
c)	हो॑ [6])	हो	होय्	होँई॑	होह्	होँयँ॑

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1) Or: गैलो॑, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो॑, आइल्, etc.

2) Or: जइबो॑ or जैबो॑, जाइब् or जइबै or जैबै, जैहै॑.

3) Or: होइबो॑ or होखबो॑ or होखिबो॑, etc. The verb आव् *come* formes regularly अइबो॑ or ऐबो॑ or अउबो॑ or औबो॑, आई, आइब् or आवब् or आउब्, अइहै॑ or ऐहै॑, etc.

4) Or: जो; but not देउ.

5) Or: जा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होहुँ or होखो॑, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

	1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a)	ज़ातोँ	ज़ात्[1])	ज़ाइत्[2])	ज़ातेन्[3])
b)	देतोँ	देत्	देइत्	देतेन्
c)	होतोँ	होत्	होइत्	होतेन्

f) Precative forms.

	2. sing.	2. plur.
a)	ज़इहे or ज़ैह	ज़इह or ज़ैह
b)	देइहे	देइह
c)	होइहे	होइह

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ले, and intrans. verbs that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

527. Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	ज़ात्, गयल्[4])	ज़ाय् के[5])	ज़ातै, गैले[4])
b)	देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देतै, दिहले
c)	होत्, भयल्[4])	होतै के	होतै, भैले[4])
d)	करत्, कयल्[4])	कय् के	करतै, कैले[4])
e)	आवत्, आयल्[4])	आय् के	औतै, ऐले[4])
f)	खात्, खायल्[4])	खाय् के	खातै, खैले[4])

	Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.
a)	ज़ाब्[6]), ज़ाये के or ज़ाबे के	ज़ानिहार्, fem. °री
b)	देब्, देए के or देबे के	देनिहार्, „ °री
c)	होब्, होए के or होब् के	होनिहार्, „ °री

1) Or: ज़ातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज़ाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज़ातैँ, देतैँ, होतैँ.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. ज़ै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज़ाइब्, ज़इबे or ज़ैबे के; होइब्, होइबे के; आइब्, अइबे or ऐबे के, etc.

8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in ग्रल् of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb ज़ाब् *to go* (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb ज़ाब् is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb ज़ाब् vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऱुल् ज़ालोँ	पऱुल् ज़ाल्यूँ
2.	पऱुल् ज़ालेस् or प° ज़ाले	पऱुल् ज़ालिस् or प° ज़ालो
3.	पऱुल् ज़ाला	पऱुल् ज़ाले
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱुल् ज़ाईला	पऱुल् ज़ाईला
2.	पऱुल् ज़ालह् or प° ज़ाल	पऱुल् ज़ाल्यू
3.	पऱुल् ज़ालेन् or प° ज़ालैँ	पऱुल् ज़ालिन् or प° ज़ालीँ

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पऱुल् ज़ात्, प° गयल्	पऱुल् ज़ाय् के	पऱुल् ज़ातै प° गैले
Infinitives.		Nouns of agency.
पऱुल् ज़ाब्, प° ज़ाये के or प° ज़ाबे के		पऱुल् ज़ानिहार्; fem. °री

9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. ज़ाब् *to go* and होब् *to be* (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form ज़ायल्, instead of गयल् in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form होग्रल् or, optionally, भयल्. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, कयल् ज़ाला *it is done*; दिह्ल् ज़ाला *it is given*; but ज़ायल् ज़ाला *it can go* (lit. *it is gone*); होग्रल् ज़ाला *it can be*, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से बइठल् नाहीँ ज़ाला lit. *by me it cannot be sat*, i. e., *I cannot sit*; or मो से खड़ा नाहीँ होअल् (or भयल्) ज़ात् व्हाटै *I cannot stand up.*

Note: The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensitive verbs; see § 538, a.

10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in आ, e. g., like खाब् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read*, etc.

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ़ालोँ	पढ़ाल्यू	पढ़ाईला	पढ़ाईला
2.	पढ़ालेस्[1])	पढ़ालिस्[1])	पढ़ालह्[1])	पढ़ाल्यू
3.	पढ़ाला	पढ़ाले	पढ़ालेन्[1])	पढ़ालिन्[1])

b) Preterite: *I could be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढ़इलोँ or पढ़ैलोँ; 3. sg. पढ़ायल् or पढ़ाइल्, etc. There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढ़इबोँ or पढ़ैबोँ or पढ़ाबोँ, 3. sg. पढ़ाई; pl. पढ़इहैँ or पढ़ैहैँ, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read*, etc.

Sing.	1. पढ़ाँवँ	2. पढ़ा or पढ़ो	3. पढ़ाय्
Plur.	1. पढ़ाँईँ	2. पढ़ाह् or पढ़ा	3. पढ़ाँयँ

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read*, etc.

1. sing. masc. पढ़ातोँ; plur. पढ़ातो or पढ़ाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढ़ात् ब्हाटोँ or पँ° होवोँ, etc.

h) Dur. pret. „ „ पढ़ात् रहलोँ, etc.

i) Dur. fut. „ „ पढ़ात् होबोँ or पँ° होखबोँ, etc.

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1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढ़ाले, f. पढ़ाली; pl. m. पढ़ाल; 3. pl. m. पढ़ालैँ, f. पढ़ालीँ.

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढ़ायल् बाटों or प° होवों or पढ़ाइल् ब° or प° ह°, etc.
l) Pluperfect „ „ पढ़ायल् रहलों or पढ़ाइल् र°, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढ़ात्, पढ़ायल् or पढ़ाइल्	पढ़ाय् के	पढ़ातै, पढ़इले or पढ़ैले

Infinitives:	Nouns of agency.
पढ़ाब् or पढ़ाइब्, पढ़ाये के or पढ़ैबे कै	पढ़ानिहार्, fem. °री

11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाब् *to eat.* It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. खिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देब् *to give* and लेब् *to take* make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आवब् *to come,* जाब् *to go* and होब् *to be* possess no potent. passive.

12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in ब्; provided that °आवी° becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate °आव°, °आय° become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read* or *I teach,* etc.
1. sg. masc. पढ़ावौंलों or पढ़ावलों; pl. पढ़ाईला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read* or *I taught,* etc.
Sg. 1. पढ़ायों, 2. and 3. पढ़ाइस्; pl. 1. पढ़ाया, 2. पढ़ायौ, 3. पढ़ाइन्.

Second preterite.
1. sg. पढ़उलों or पढ़ौलों; pl. पढ़उली or पढ़ौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read* or *I shall teach,* etc.
Sg. 1. पढ़इबों or पढ़ैबों or पढ़उबों or पढ़ौबों, 3. पढ़ाई, etc.
Pl. 1. पढ़ाइब् or पढ़ाउब्, 3. पढ़इहैं or पढ़ैहैं, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read,* etc.
Sg. 1. पढ़ावों, 2. पढ़ाव् or पढ़ावु or पढ़ाउ, 3. पढ़ावै.
Pl. 1. पढ़ाईं, 2. पढ़ावह् or पढ़ाव, 3. पढ़ावैं.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read,* etc.

1. sg. masc. पढउतो or पढौतों, 3. पढावत् or पढौतै; pl. 1. पढाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढावत् रहल् *he was causing to read* or *he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढौले बाटै *he has caused to read* or *he has taught,* etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढावत् पढावल्	पढाय् के	पढौतै पढौले

Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.
पढाइब् or पढावब्, पढावै के or पढैबे के	पढौनिहार्; fem. °री

13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach,* etc.

1. sg. masc. पढवावैलों or पढवावलों; pl. पढवाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach,* etc.

1. sg. पढवायों, 2. and 3. पढवाइस्; pl. 1. पढवाया, 3. पढवाइन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढवउलों or पढवौलों, 3. पढवउलेस् or पढवौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach,* etc.

1. sg. masc. पढवइबों or पढवैबों or पढवउबों or पढवौबों, 3. पढवाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach,* etc.

1. sg. पढवावों, 2. पढवाव् or पढवावु or पढवाउ; 1. pl. पढवाईं, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach,* etc.

1. sg. m. पढवउतो or पढवौतों, 3. पढवावत् or पढवौतै; 1. pl. पढवाइत्, etc.

Participles.	Infinitive.
पढवावत् पढवावल्	पढवाइब् or पढवावब्

14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infinit. पढ़ावल् ज़ाब् *to be caused to read* or *to be taught*; and double caus. pass. inf. पढ़्वावल् ज़ाब् *to be caused to teach*, and so forth.

15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाब् *to eat* forms its simple causal खियावब् *to cause to eat* or *to feed*, and its double causal खियवावब् *to cause to feed*. Similarly the verbs लेब् *to take* and देब् *to give* form लियावब्, लियवावब् and दियावब्, दियवावब् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आवब् *to come* and ज़ाब् *to go* possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensitive compound verbs लेआवब् *to bring* (= *to cause to come*) and लेज़ावब् *to remove* (= *to cause to go*) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आवब् and ज़ाब्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआयल् ज़ाब् *to be brought* and लेज़ायल् ज़ाब् *to be removed*.

3) Of the verb होब् *to be* there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are:

a) For making *intensitives*; देब् *to give* (implying intensity), डालब् *to throw* (violence); आइब् *to come* and जाइब् *to go* (completion); परब् (or W. H. पउ°) *to fall* (chance); उठब् *to rise* (suddenness); लेब् *to take* (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेँकब् *to throw*, but फेँक् देब् *to throw away*; तोड़् डालब् *to break into pieces*, from तोड़ब् *to break*; बन् आइब् or बन् जाइब् *to be made up, completed*, from बनब् *to be made*; खाय् जाइब् *to eat up*, from खाइब् *to eat*; आय् परब् *to come accidentally, to turn up*, from आइब् *to come*; बोल् उठब् *to speak suddenly*, from बोलब् *to speak*; काट् लेब् *to cut for oneself*, from काटब् *to cut*; रख् लेब् *to place for oneself, to lay by*, from रखब् *to place*.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् *to remain* and जाइब् *to go*. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइठ् रहब् or बइठत् रहब् *to continue sitting*; again पढ़त् जाइब् *to continue reading*.

c) For making *frequentatives*; करब् *to do*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ै करब् or पढ़बे क° *to read often*; आवै करब् or अइबे क° or ऐबे क° *to be in the habit of coming*.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् *to be able*, जानब् *to know*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ सकब् or पढ़ै स° or पढ़बे स° *to be able to read*; खइबे जानब् or खैबे ज° *to be able to eat*.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् *to finish*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ़ चुकब् *to finish reading*, खाय् चुकब् *to finish eating*.

f) For making *desideratives*; चाहब् (or चाहब्) *to wish*. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ल् चाहब् or पढ़ै च° or पढ़बे च° *to wish to read*.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घडी बजल् झाहत् बारै *the clock is about to strike*; बेरू बिसबे झाहैला *the time is about to pass.*

g) For making *inchoatives*; लगब् *to be applied* and होइब् *to become.* The latter occurs only in the past tense भयल् *he became*, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पढ़त् भयल् *he began to read.* With लगब् it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढ़ै लगब् or पढ़बे ल° *to begin to read.*

h) For making *permissives*; देब् *to give.* The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै देब् or पढ़बे देब् *to allow to read*; आवै देब् or अइबे द° or ऐबे द° *to allow to come.*

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइब् *to obtain.* The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढ़ै पाइब् or पढ़बे प° *to be allowed to read.*

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., *to eat up* is खाय् (conj. part.) झाइब्, not खा (root) झाइब्; but also in others; e. g., फेँके देब् or फेँक् द° *to throw away.* In fact, these compounds literally mean *to come after having eaten*; *to give after having thrown.* Thus, लेआवै lit. means *to come after having taken*, i. e., *to bring*; पढ़ै चुकब् or पढ़ च° *to give up after having read*, i. e., *to have done with reading.* The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds य् to roots in आ (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., बताय् देना or बता द° *to show.* Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढ़ि चुकन् *to have done reading.* Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in ऊन्; e. g., टाकून् देणे *to cast away*, घेऊन् येणे *to bring*, lit. *having taken* (from घेणे *to take*) *to come* (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in इया, G. in ई, S. in ई or ए, O. in इ; e. g., B. खाइया चूकन् *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. नाखी देवुं *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. वही वञणु *to take off*, करे चुकणु *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि थाउँ *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., बाच् सकणा *to be able to read*, खा हटणा *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढ़ै कर्‌ब् *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, मर्‌बै छाह्‌ब् *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिबा कु चाहि *I desire to die*, करिबा कु लगि *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is वा in G., इबा in P., णा in S.; e. g., G. जोवा लाग्यो *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. पढ़िबा करदा *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. रुञणा लगणु *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in इते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि *I desire to die*, करिते पारि *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in ना (as पढ़ा करना *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund" (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in ना (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus ऊ पढ़त् जात् बाटै *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or ऊ मरत् चाहत् बाटै *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally

formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use पाड़् *cross* for सक् in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. थाक्, O. था *stand* for रह् in contin. and for कर् in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has हट् *with draw*, S. वठ् *take*, beside चुक्, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. वञ् *go* for ज्ञा in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prákrit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavatí*, made by constructing the R. इच्छ *wish* with the past part. pass. in इय; e. g., इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडाविअं सयम् एव सिक्खाविअं सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खिअं, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. छाहो आपही मूँडल् आपही सिखावल् आपही धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्. See Wb. Bh. 275. 433 [1]).

FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindí, but there are a very few of foreign

1) आइक्खिअं may be derived from R. आ-दीक्ष् (or आ-दिक्ष्, for Skr. आ-दिश्, cf. Pr. देक्ख = दृक्ष्, for Skr. दृश्) „to instruct, to initiate". — The E. H. root छाह् or चाह् may be better derived from the noun इच्छा, by the loss of initial इ and the transfer of the aspiration of छ् (§ 132). Thus Skr. *इच्छायति, Pr. इच्छाअइ, Gd. छाऐ or चाहै or छाहै. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only *one* word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) नऱ्सौं *four days ago* or *four days hence* (for चऱ्सौं? Skr. चतुर्-श्वस्); तऱ्सौं *three days ago* or *three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-श्वस्); पऱ्सौं *the day before yesterday* or *the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर्-श्वस्); काल् or काल्ह् or काल्हि *yesterday* or *to-morrow* (Skr. कल्य); बिहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); आजू or अजवा *to-day* (Skr. अद्य); अह्नौं *hitherto* (Skr. अद्यापि); पऱ्यारू *the past year* (Skr. पर्-काल or पर्-वार्, cf. §§ 69. 30); तड़के or भिनुसारू *at daybreak, at down* (W. H. तऽके, Skr. तटक, भिनु-वासर); नित्तं *always* (Skr. नित्य); आगू or आगे *before* (§§ 77; exc. 78, exc.); पाछू or पाछे or पाछैं *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. dto). — 2) Adverbial phrases; ओ दिन् or पऱ् के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day* or *day of before*); लोहिया लागत् (lit. *becoming red*) or अँधसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at down, early*; दिन् चढ़ के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सब् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहुत् बेऱ् *frequently*; एक् बेऱ् *once* (etc., see § 409); आज् काल् or एन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबहीं कबहीं or कब्बो कब्बो *sometimes*; बार् बार् *frequently*. — 4) Foreign; आखिर् *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) अगारी or अगार् *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); पछारी or पछार् or पछवारे or पिछ° *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरियां *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचइया *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंच्); संमुहू or सामुहू *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिर् *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीचे or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्य, of वृ *surround*, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अंच् *surround*); नगीचू or नगीचै (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर् *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); काँटू or लागे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्तर् *every where* (Ap. Pr. सव्वत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) Phrases; काले कोस् *far* (lit. *some*

miles = W. H. किते कोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संजोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हाली or हलदे or तुरंत् *quickly* (see § 545); तावरतोर् *very quickly*; साँचे *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकारथ् (§ 545) or बिंथी (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. नियमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. dto); बड़ *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहैं or सम्मैं *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म् से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह् (arab. طرح) *in ... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भली रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवैं गवैं or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साचो साचा *truly*; लग्भग् *almost*; कूँठ् मूँठ् *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; ज़रूर् *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); ज़लदी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम् *a little* (pers. کم); खाली *only* (pers. خالی); अदब् दै के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in ऊ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. काल्लि or काल्हि. — Adv. in *a* quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. काल्लि. — The element °सौं (in परसौं, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. श्वः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. अजवा is derived with the pleon. suff. अवा from आज्, and अजवा is contr. to आज्, see § 199. — E. H. मिनुसार् contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of आ, if it is correctly derived from Skr. भिन्नवासर् „broken day", „day-break"; whence Pr. *भिण्णवसार् or *भिण्णोसार्, E. H. भिनुसार्. — In फिन् and फुन् the फ् and इ are, perhaps, assimilations to फिर् (§ 547); S. has regularly पिणि or पुणि or पुणु (Tr. 410). — E. H. बहुरि is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् to Skr. बहु, just as in E. H. बाहिरि, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. अगार्, पछार्, etc. contain the pleon. suff. अअउअ (i. e., क + उ + क), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. उपरिया and निचइया contain the pleon. suff. इया, see § 199. — E. H. नगीच् is, probably, a corruption of the persian نزدیک, which may be heard in Hindí as नज़ीक् (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise नगीज़्; the क् being now medial, is regularly softened to ग्, see § 102. — E. H. हाली and हलदे are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root हाल् (M.), हल् (P.), हल् (S.), हिल् or हल् (H.) *move, go.* Thus conj. part. S. हली (Tr. 313), pres. part. हलन्दे (Tr. 313), P. हल्लदे. — E. H. तुरंत् is the pres. part. of the verbal root त्वर् or तुर् *be quick.* — E. H. अकारथ् is regularly derived from the Skr. अकृतार्थ *having one's object not done, unsuccessful,* Pr. अकअत्थ or Ap. Pr. अकअर्थ, whence contr. E. H. अकार्थ् or अकारथ् (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs.* Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., फिर् or फिर् के *again* (Skr. परि-इ *go round*), मिलि or मिल् के *together,* जान् के *knowingly,* हाली *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. कय् के or कै के *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., खुसी कय् के *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); एक् एक् कै के *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation.* The former are तौ or तो तौ or जो or हौं or हाँ *yes,* काह् or काहे lit. *why not.* The latter are न or नाँह् or नाँहि or नाँही or नाहिन् *no, not.*

The prohibitive particle is ञिन् *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus ऐसन् ञिन् करहू *do not act thus*, but ऐ० न or नाँहीं क० *you do not act thus.*

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* तौ is a contr. of the Pr. ताव (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. तावत्. — E. H. ज्ञौ, S. ज्ञौउ (Tr. 419) is the Skr. ज्ञोव, used (like Skr. आत्मा, E. H. आप्) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir". — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be". Thus E. H. हौं and हौं, S. हउ or हौं (Tr. 418), B. हाँ or हुँ (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. आँहि (Tr. 418) and M. होय् (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. बटे of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles नाँह or नाँहि are compounds of the negative particle न and the 3. sing. pres. आहि *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly नाँहीं and नाहिन् are compounds of न and the 3. plur. pres. आहीं and अहिन्; नाहिं occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the anunásika preceding हू, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. ञिन्, W. H. uses मत् or मति, S. म (Tr. 415), G. मा (Ed. 115); in Pr. मा or मं or म (H. C. 4, 418), Skr. मा.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are ई or ही *only, very* and उ or हूँ *also.* They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final अ of the principal word to ऐ or औ. E. g., क बाबू एहू पारी खालो राबै बनवैब की गूरौ। i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here राबै = राब ई, and गूरौ (or गूजै) = गूर उ.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* ई is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. एव, Pr. वेव or विव (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is चेव, चिव (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has इ or हिँ or हे (Sn. 48), M. ही (Man. 101), H. H. ही. — E. H. उ, B. ओ (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. वि, Skr. अपि (or ऽपि); Pr. has also पि (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both बि and पि (Tr. 410), and even aspirates भि or भी (Tr. 410); so also H. H. भी.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क बाबू! का करैल। i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or कौ (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्युँ. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gḍ. generally) the place of what, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाहीँ (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँहीँ or माँक् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लभ् *take*) or तक् (dto of R. तक् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काहीँ *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संस्थ); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बाटे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); ओर् (Skr. अवर) or मुहेँ (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाँईँ *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also खातिर् *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. واسطی), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدل *in exchance for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्त *in return for*, see § 143. — नाईँ is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ् or नावइ् (H. C. 4, 444).

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; अउर् or और् or अर् (§§ 5, b. 26) or औ *and*; पुन् or पुनि or फुनि or फिन् *moreover*; का — का *as well — as.*

559. *Affinities and Derivation.* E. H. और्, अर्, Bs. ओर् or वोर् is the Pr. अवर् or Ap. अवह्, Skr. अपर्; B. has आर् (S. Ch.. 237), Br. अह्, H. H. और्, P. अर् (Ld. 71), N. र्. The latter rejects the initial अ (of अर्) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले ज्ञाने — र् भन्या *he knew and said*; or उठ — र् माँक मा उभि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. अउ or औ, B. ओ, also compounded आर्ओ or आरो (S. Ch. 237), O. आउ or ओ (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. वो, S. अउँ (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. अवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अपि or अपिच. — S. has also अइँ or एँ (Tr. 410), P. अति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. अइ or ति, Skr. अति. — M. has also आणि or अणावी (Man. 103), G. अने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. अस° or अन्न°, Skr. अत्यत् or अन्यच्च lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or पिणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनर्. — W. H. has क्या — क्या *as well — as*, S. तिअँ — तिअँ (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; बर्कि or बाकि or बर्कु (§ 561), लेकिन् (arab. لیکن), पर् पै, बर्न् *but.*

561. *Affinities and Derivation.* बर्कि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلکه, see § 143; W. H. बलकि, बाकि, बलुकु (Kl. 276), P. वल्कु (Ld. 71). — E. H. पर् is the Skr. परम्, Pr. पर्; also W. H., P., S. पर्; on E. H., W. H. पै see § 124; P. has also अपर्, or ऐपर् (Ld. 71) = Skr. अपरम्. — E. H. बर्न्, W. H. बर्ण, P. बर् is Skr. वरम् or वरणम्. — W. H. has also मगर्, P. मगवाँ or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनर्. — N. has तर्, also M. तर् (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तरम् *beyond, across*). — S. has also बिगिरि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بغير; also हथाँ or हथो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; ओ or· की *or, either-or*; e. g., कइ ई लेबह् की ऊ *will you take this or that*; बछेरा ओ बछेरी *a colt or a filly*; न — न or न तो — न *neither-nor*; e. g., न तो ई लेबो॑ न ऊ *I shall take neither this nor that*; चाहै — चाहै or की — की *whether-or*; e. g., चाहै ई ले चाहै ऊ *take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation.* E. H. ओ is the Pr. व or वा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. वा; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have वा, also अथवा; the latter is preserved in O. अवा, contr. form Pr. अहवा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. अथवा. — E. H. की, B. कि (S. Ch. 240), O. कि or कि अवा (Sn. 46), M. की॑ (Man. 103), W. H. कि, P. के or अके (Ld. 71), S. कि or की (Tr. 412), N. कि are probably the Pr. किं, Skr. किम् *what*. — E. H. चाहै is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb चाहब् *to desire*. — B. also uses हय्-नय् *either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. तोॾे-न त or तोपो-न त or ज़ाँ-ज़ाँ (Tr. 412); B. ना-ना or नय्-नय् *neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. ना-ना (Ld. 81). — S. has ज़ाँ *or* (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use या, arabic ﻳﺎ (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; जौ or जै *if*, तौ *then*; जौ *although*, तब्बो *yet, nevertheless.*

565. *Affinities.* 1) Condit.; B. जदि — तबे or तो (S. Ch. 238), O. जेबे — तेबे (Sn. 46), M. जर् — तर् (Man. II, 17), W. H. जौ or जो — तौ or तो, P. जे or जे कर् — ताँ (Ld. 71), G. जे or जो — तो (Ed. 117), S. जे or जे कर् — त or ताँ (Tr. 417), N. भन्या — ता. — 2) Concess.; B. जदिओ — तबेओ or तबुओ or तर् (S. Ch. 240), O. जेबे — तेबे or तेबेहे॑ (Sn. 46), M. जरी॑ or जरी — तरी॑ or तरी (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) जौ हूँ — तौ हूँ (Kl. 275), P. भावे॑ — ताँ भी (Ld. 71), S. तोञ or तोपो or जे or जे तोॾे or जे तोपो — त or ताँ or त बि or तडेही॑ बि (Tr. 411), N. ता — तर्.

566. *Derivation.* 1) Condit.; a) Skr. यदि (or यदा), Pr. जइ (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. जै, P., S. जे. — b) Skr. यर्हि (Pr. जरि?), M. जर्; similarly Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तरि?), M. and N. तर्. — c) Skr. यावत्, Pr. जाव (H. C. 1, 11) or जाम्ब (H. C. 4, 395) or जेम्ब (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. जौ, G. जो or S. ज़ाँ (see § 563) or O. जेब्ब (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. तावत्, Pr. ताव or ताम्ब or तेम्ब, E. H., W. H. तौ, B., W. H., G. तो or P. ताँ, S. ताँ or (shortened) त,

N. ता or O. तेबे, B. (shortening ए) तबे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भनु *to say* (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, वाँहाँ कल्याण् को पुत्र ह् भन्या, ता तिमिहेरु को कल्याण् उस् माथि रहला है; न भन्या, ता फर् कि आउला, i. e., *if* (lit. *having said that*) *a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come.* — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) ओ or उ in B. ज़द्दिओ, Ap. Pr. ज़द्दिवि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तबेओ = Pr. तेव्वइ.वि, Skr: तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तब्बो for तब्ब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. जौ हूँ, तौ हूँ. — c) ईं or हों in M. जरीं or जरीं for जरि-ईं, तरीं or तरी for तरि-ईं. — d) बि or भी in S. ज़ बि, P. ताँ भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेबेहें for ते-बे-हें, S. तउेहीँबि for तउे-हीं-बि. — f) The P. भावें is the Skr. भावेन *indeed, truly*; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तौ or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेश्वर् देखि उराउँदि न, तर् म दिउँला, i. e., *I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.*

567. *Causal and final conjunctions*; a) जौ or जेह् से *since*, तौ *therefore*. — b) जेह् से or तेह् से *therefore*. — c) काहे की *because, for*. — d) जेह् से *in order that, so that*. — e) का जाने *lest*. — f) नाहीं तौ *else*, otherwise (lit., *if not, then*).

568. *Affinities and Derivation.* a) B. जाइ — ताइं or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जेणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. जिस् ते — तौ, P. जाँ — ताँ, S. जो — सो or जेलाँ — तेलाँ, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. जे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्यापक्षी — त्यापक्षी, N. जस् कारण् — तस् कारण्, etc. — b) B. एमत् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणुन्, W. H. जिस् ते or तिस् ते, P. ताँ, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए ज़न्ये, ए निमित्ते (S. Ch. 239), O. जे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. यस् कारण्, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. काँकी, W. H. क्यौंकि or क्योंकि, H. H. क्यूँकि, N. क्यान्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण् कि, M. कारण् की, etc. — d) B. एमत् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. जिस् ते, P. ताँ. — e) B. कि जानि, O. कि जाणि, H. H. क्या जाने, lit. *what do I* or *does he know*; or B. पाछे, lit. *afterwards* (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म ह्णो or म ह्णु, lit. *may*

it not be that (Tr. 415). — f) B. नय् तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहोँ तर् (Man. 103), W. H. नाहोँ तो, S. म तां (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; छी छी *fie! for shame,* in remonstrance; थुरी थुरी (or थुड़ी थ°) or थू थू *fit to be spitted on,* धिक्कार् *fit to be cursed* or *abused,* in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अह ह or बापरे *ah! alas!,* in surprise or grief; वाह् वाह् in admiration; हाँय् हाँय् in sorrow; भला or अछा *well!* in consent; दुत् or दुर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gḍs. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., छि छि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); थू थू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or ड़ी, becomes थुरी थुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हाँय् हाँय् is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — बापरे is probably बाप् रे *oh father!*

SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अदद्हा *weak*
अहिवाती *wife*
इनारा *a well*
इन्हन्[1]) *fuel (of grass,* etc.)
उजड़्[1]) or उजबक् *rude*
उजर्[1]) *white*
ओअर् *wet*
ओट् *soft*

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्धन्, उज्जल, उकड.

कचलोह् *unripe*
कर्वात् *sweepings*
करिया *black*
कुनह् [1]) *enemy*
कोँहउडी *sweet pumpkin*
खनहन् *good*
खबोर् or खब्बू *glutton*
खर्खुदू *sweepings*
खर्पात् *dried leaves*
गउदा or गब्दा *fool*
गड्ही *cavity*
गद्हाबसंत् [2]) *fool*
गर् *heavy*
गँवँई *village*
गोईँठा *fuel of cowdung*
गोहार् *calling*
घटिहा *worthless*
घमोच् *fool*
चउआ [1]) *quadruped*
चिपरा or °री *fuel of cowdung*
चिरई *bird*
चीमर् *hard*
चोक् *excellent*
छाईपोई *family, race*
जावत् *all*
जावत् जगत् *every body*
जूजास् or जूजी *coldness*
ज्वाँय् *husband*
कूर् *dry*
ठउर् [1]) *place*
ठंढई *coldness*
उर्पोँक [3]) *cowardly*
उह्र् or उँडी *footpath*
धूमीस् *dirty*
निउरा or नेऱ्हारा *finished*
निचार् *solitary*
नेबर् *bad*
पगदंडी [1]) *footpath*
पताई *dried leaves*
पर्सिया *neighbouring*
पाकर् *clever*
पराए् की बात् [4]) *nonsense*
पाल्गो *tree (branch?)*
पीयल् *yellow*
पूरा *village*
पेटास् *glutton*
पोँका *wet*
पोँच् *bad*
फोर् *hard*
बतोलिया *buffoon*
बर्धा *ox, bullock*
बाबू or बापू *father*
बिगत् *individual*
बिपत् मरुआ [5]) *miserable*
बिरई or बीरो *small plant*
भिक्षा *alms*
भीखार् *beggar*
भुखर् *hungry*
भुलकर् *negligent*
मंउवी *company*
मटमइल् *dirty*
मनई *man*
मनसेटू *man*
मिर्कुटहा *weak*
रचिक् *little*
लउर् *long, heavy stick*
ललतहा *weak*
लेजुर् or °री *cord, string*
संघत् *friendship*
संघती *friend*
सधुअई *honesty*
सुकाव् *sight*
सुबोता or °भीता *convenient*
सूखल् *dry*
सेवर् *unripe*
हरीयर् [1]) *green*

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1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह्, चोवा, ठौर्, पगडंडी, हरियर्.
2) Lit., *sitting on an ass.*
3) Lit., *wet with fear.*
4) Lit., *word of irrelevancy.*
5) Lit., *stricken with misfortune.*

2. DIALOGUES[1]).

a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आवत बाट? A. परसिया गाँवँ से आईला. — 2. Q. उँहाँ से कब चलल? A. भिनुसारे कै चलल हई. — 3. Q. काहे बदे उहाँ गयल रहल? A. उहाँ एकँ हमार खेत बाय, ओके देखै के. — 4. Q. ओमे का बोवले बाट? A. खाली[1] रहर बोवल बाय. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेती कै रुख! A. येह पारी के खेती कै रुख का पूछत बाट? दैव के बरसले[2] बिना बड़ा हरज[3] भयल. — 6. Q. आज काल तोहरे भाई नाही देखैलैं हैं[4]. A. हमरे भाई आज काल किला[5] मे नोकर[6] बाटैं; एहर बहुत कम[7] आवैलैं. — 7. Q. तोहरे बड़की गैया कै का खबर[8] बाय? A. बड़की गैया आज काल गाभिन बाय; कोयर नं मिलले[2] से टूट गइल बाय. — 8. Q. गाभिन भैले[2] कै महीना[9] भयल? A. भयल तो आठ महीना, बाकि पेठ कुछ उभरल नाहीं देख परत. — 9. Q. कोरावत बाय की नाही? A. हाँ कुछ कुछ जान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौया बियान हौ औ केतना दूध देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान होई; दूध एकबेर दुइ अढाई सेर देले. — 11. Q. हम के एक बकरी खरीदै[11] के बाय, से तोहरे गावँ पर मिल सकी? A. हमरे गाँवँ पर तो बकरी बाटीं, लेकिन[10] दाम बड़ तेज[12] बाय. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया कहाँ भइल? A. हम चरै के बदे ओके गाँवैं पर छोड़ले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध देले? A. लड़िकन के पीयै भर के मिल जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी ऊख बोवले बाट की नाही? A. ऊख तो बोवले बाटी, बकि ओ मे कुछ फाइदा[13] नैखै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नार मोट मँगनी मिल सकी? A. काहें? भराई होय जाय, तब ले ल[14]. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ कै पुरवट चलैला? A. तीन पुरवट नधले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे आम के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला की नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेउन मे लाही लग गइल; नाही तो बहुत होत रहल. — 18. Q. थोड़ आम हमहूँ के अँचार नावै के देत? A. जब तोहार मन होय, तब आय के तोड़वाय[15] ल्य. — 19. Q. तोहार लड़िकवा कुछ पढ़ैला की नाही? A. हाँ, गुरू किहाँ[16] जाला; अच्छार[17] तो चीन्ह गयल बाय; आज काल पहाड़ पढ़त बाय. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय देत? A. कुछ पढ़

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopâl Bhatta of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virâmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तब् बठैाय् दे ँई ँ[18]. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटौवा[19] के पाठसाले मे बैठावल् चाहीला. A. अच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे ओहू के बैठाय् दीह्य.

Notes: 1) pers. خالی. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. خرچ. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قلعه. 6) pers. نوکر. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صهینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تیز. 13) arab. فاید. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or ले लह् or ले ल्यह्. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of अच्छर्, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम् *orders*, pl. of हुकम्. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल् लोहिया लागत् खेत् पर् जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावै के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतौ निरावै के अउर् बऊके खेतवा मे हरौ चलावै के. A. कै मजूरा[1] कै काम् बाय्? — 3. Q. जैठे से सपरै, तैठे लगाय् दीहे. A. धान् कै खेतवा भरूह के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन् मे भरल् जाई? A. दुइ दिन् कै काम् बाय्. — 5. Q. लवहू कै दिन् तो आय् गयल्. A. अच्छा, तब् ले चारू पाँच् मेहराहन् के ठहराय् रक्खोला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयर् दिहले, की नाही ँ? A. घास् तो नाय् दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसौ लेआय् के सानी चलाय् दे; साँझ् भइल्. A. बेर् बिसवले, हम् घरे[2] रोटी खाये जाब्. — 8. Q. अच्छा, जब खाय् के ऐहे, तब् गोहन् के ओसारी मे बाँध् दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे[3] दीहे की रोटी पोय् रखिहैं ँ. A. खाली[4] रोटियै खैब? — 10. Q. अउर् का? दूध् के संगे खाय् लेब्. A. दाल् न होखी? — 11. Q. राति के हम् के दाल् नाही पचत्. A. जलदी खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी जुड़ाय्[4] जाई. — 12. Q. जा लेजा, तैं ँ तो जलदी[5] खाय् आव्; बिना तोरे ऐले हम् न जाबै. A. हम् तो जातै बाटी; खाय् के हालियै आइब्. — 13. Q. भला, बोया के बदे कोठिला मे कुछ् जव् बाय् की नाही ँ? A. न होई, तो बोरे भर् के मोल् आय् जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही बोवै के? A. एक् इ पसेरी मे होय् जाई. — 15. Q. काँकौ न चाही बोवै के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे बखार् मे होय्. — 16. Q. ई धरी दैव् जो चारू बुन्दी कर् देतैं ँ, तो बड़ अच्छा होत्. A. देख! गोसैं ँयाँ कै मरजी[6] होई, तो बरूस् जैहैं ँ. — 17. Q. अरे! हाँ, काल् फार्[7] के बदे थोरा लोहा खरीदै के बाय्. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर मे नैखै? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुछिहे तो. A. धाम् तो पियरायल् बाटै मे; सॉंक् भइल् चाहैले. — 19. Q. हो! देख्! माई आवत् बाय्. A. एह् बेरा आवै कै कौन् काम् रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेर् बिसवै चाहैला; तैं ज़लदी[5] जो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहऊँ जा! दिसा झंगल् से निपट् आव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزدور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj. part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters:

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहवर् कहाँ गइल् रहल्यू? A. रहिला कै साग् खोंटै. — 2. Q. एह् पारी तोहरे खेतवा मे खाली रहिलै बोवल् बाय्? A. नाही, मटर् रहिला अउर् बारै, तीन् चीज़्[1], बोवल् बाय्. — 3. Q. तोहार् दुलहा आज् काल् कहीं बाहर् गयल् बाटैं? A. नाही, घरही तो बाटैं, लेकिन् खेत् पर् बहुत् रहैलैं. — 4. Q. तूँ रसोइयाँ कब् करैल्यू? A. दुपहर् के करीला; अब् जाय् के, तब् करब्. — 5. Q. तोहार् बिटियवा तो नीके बाय्? A. हँ, बाय् अच्छीतरह्[2]. — 6. Q. तोहार् गैयवा[3] कुछ् दूध् देले की नाही? A. का कहीं बहिनी? पहिले बियान् मे तो कुछ् नाही दिहलेस्; अबकी बियान् मे देखों कुछ् देलें की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले[4] भयल्? A. अबही तो आज् पँचवाँ दिन् हौ; अबही ओकर् बछरुआ अच्छी तरह्[2] चल् नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी कराई पखेव अच्छी तरह्[2] पाई, तो दूध् देई. A. देवै कै तो बिचार् बाय्. — 9. Q. ओहे घरवा मे तुहँईं अकेल् रहल्यू[5] की ओरो केहू रहैला? A. नाही, हमही अकेल् रहीला, लेकिन् चाहीला की ओर् केहू रहे जात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे रहै लाइक्[6] होय्, तो हम् के घ. A. बाय्, लेकिन् छोट बाय्, तोहार् निबाह् ओ मे न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कब्बहू तोहरे परोस् मे होई, तो हम् के बतैह. A. काहे? जौने घरवा मे तूँ रहैल्यू, तौने मे कौनो दिकदारी[7] बाय्? — 12. Q. दिकदारी कवन् बाय? भारा बहुत् लगैला. A. अच्छा! तो आव, हमरे ही घर् मे रह; कौनो तरह्[2] से निबाह् होय् जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्! अब् किरपा कैल्यू; हम् बहुत् दिकदार्[7] रहली ओहे घर् से. A. अच्छा! तो कब् से रहै के अइब? — 14. Q. अब् तो खरवाँस् बितले बादू[8] अच्छी साइत् देखवाय् के आइब्. A. ज़रूर्[9] आवै कै बिचार् रखिह; हम् अपने मनसेधू से कहे के घर् सफा[10] करवाय् रक्खब्. — 15. Q. न जानी, खरवाँस् केतने दिन् रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् मे एक् पंडित् रहैलैं; ओन्ह् से पूछ् के, तब् तोह् से कहब्.

Notes: 1) pers. چیز. 2) arab. طرح. 3) redundant form of

गाई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहैल्यू. 6) arab. لايق. 7) arab. دايږ. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सबेर हीँ उठ् के ऊख् कै खेत् देखै के जैह! A. अब् तो तोरहू कै दिन् आयल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन् कोल्हू कै जाठ् टूट् गइल् बाय्; से खरीदै के होई. A. केतने दाम् पर् मिली? — 3. Q. ओ कर् जैसन् काठ् होय्, तैसन् दाम् लगै. A. कतरी बाय्, की उहौ खरीदल् जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय्, लेकिन् ओ करे भर् के काठ् धर् मे होई; अढई बलवाय् के बनवाय् लिहल् जाई. A. क बाबू? येह् पारी खाली राबै बनवैब की गुरौ? — 5. Q. नाही, टूनौ बनवाइब्. A. अब् हम् खाये जात् बाटी. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): आव, बेटा, जलदी खाये के! A. आज् का रसोँईँ कैले बाटिस्? — 7. Q. आज् रसोँईँ मे दाँल् रोटी अउर् कोँहउरी भइल् बाय्. A. दूध् बाय् की नाही? — 8. Q. थोर् एक् होई बाय्; पूत् बाँह् के खाय् लीक्या! A. अच्छा! गोड़् धोवै के पानी भेजवाय् दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा मे पानी रक्खल् बाय्; गोड़् धोव! A. अउकी थरिया मे हम् के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने बापौ के बलाय् ल्य! A. अच्छा! बलाय् लेआईला; आव बाबू खाये! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तूँ खाय् ल्य, तब् हम पीछे से खाब्. A. काँहेँ? — 12. Q. अबहीँ अच्छी तरह् से हम् के भूख् नैखै. A. नाहीँ! माई बलावत् बाय्. — 13. Q. अच्छा ले! आवत् बाटी. A. हे! गोड़् धोवै के पानी धयल् बाय्. — 14. Q. अच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ आज् कोन् करत् हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार् मेहर्. A. ओ के रोटी फुलावै नाही आवत्. — 16. Q. नाहीँ आवत्; तब्बो कबौ नाही रहत्. A. पीढा धै दे! — 17. Q. तूँ आव, तो सही! पीढा तो इँहँईँ रक्खल् बाय्. A. ले! बाबुओ ऐलैँ, हमहूँ ऐली; जलदी परोसै के कह्. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ थरिया, छोटी बड़ी परोस्!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! खाये के दे! A. का कइबे? — 2. Q. का बाय् खाये के? A. रोटी बाय्; काहे से खइबे? — 3. Q. दूध् बाय् की नाही? A. दूध् तो कक्का बाय्, लेकिन् नैनू बाय्; कहु, तो देईँ; ओही से खाय् ले! — 4. Q. नैनू दूध् कै हौ की दही कै? A. नाहीँ! आज् सबेरे दही महे के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेआव्. A. खाली नैनुबैं, की ओ मे कौनो मीठा मिलैबे? — 6. Q. कौन् मीठा बाटै? A. राब् लेआईं की गुर्? — 7. Q. नाहो! राबै लेआव्! गुर् हम् के नांही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! तै बैठु! हम् लेआईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेआव्; नाहीं तो ऊ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. तैं गोरू तो धोउ! हम् लेआईला. — 9. Q. दुइयै रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहें? पेट् भर् खाय् ले! रसोइयाँ के अबहीं अबेर् होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तीन् दे! A. ले! खो!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलब खेलै के? A. अबहीं हम् खेली नाहीं; खाय् लेईं, तब् चलीं. — 2. Q. कब् खैब? A. माई आवैले, तब् खाईला[1]. — 3. Q. तोहार् माई कहाँ गइल् बाय्? A. गोरून् के कोयर् देवै के. — 4. Q. तब् ले चल; खेल् आईं. A. कौन् खेल् खेलब्? — 5. Q. लट्टू तोहरे पास् बाय् की नाही? A. लट्टू तो बाय्; लत्ती नैखै. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाईं. A. कपजा कहाँ बाय्? — 7. Q. कपजा बहुत् मिली. A. ल्य! माइयो आइल्; अब् खाय् लेईं; तब् सुचित् से खेलीं. — 8. Q. तब् से हमहूँ घर् से होय् आईला[1]. A. तूँ काहे बदे घर् जात् बाट? — 9. Q. थोर् एक् टूध् धयल् बाय्; से हमहूँ पी आईं. A. तोहरे[2] टूध् होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, आकेन्[3] गैया कै टूध् हौ. A. अच्छा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गैली की ऐलो. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास्. 3) pers. بلكه.

3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक् बजा आदिमी[1] अंगूर्[2] कै बारी ओ खेत् बोवलेस्; ओके चार् बेटवा रहलैं; जब् ऊ मरै लगल्, तब् बेटवन् से कहलेस्; ए बेटा मोरे पास् जवन् धन् रहल्, तौने के मै अंगूर् के खेतवा मे गाड़ दिहले बाटों; से तूँलोग् खनब, तो पइबह्; जब् ऊ आदिमी मरि गयल्, तब् ओकर् सब् बेटौवा मिल् के खेत् के चारो ओर् से खनै लगलैं[3]; लेकिन् धन् कै खोज् न मिलल्; बाकी[4] खेत् अच्छी तरह् से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से अँगूर् कै पेड़ खूब्[5] पनफलैं; और् खूब् अँगूर् कै फल् उपजलैं; तब् तो सब् बेटा मिल् के ओके बेचलैं, और् बहुत् एक् धन् पौलैं; बजा खुस्[6] भइलैं; एसे हमलोगन् के ई बात् सीखे के चाही, को बजा लोग् जौन् बात् कहैं तौने के जरूर् मानै के चाही, टारै के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् कै कल्यान् होई; ई लड़िकन् के सीखे के बदे कहनी हौवै.

Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انگور. 3) shorter form for लगल, 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Bráhmans.

कौनो एक् ब्राम्हन् रहल्; ओके दुइ बेटा रहलैं; ऊ ब्राम्हन् कौनो ज्ञय कौ लगल्; ओ मे एक् मछरी कै काम् परल्; तब् ऊ टूनो बेटौवन् से कहलेस्, की बेटा! तूँ टूनो ज्ञने समुद् के तीर् पर् ज्ञाय् के एक् मछरी लेआवह्; तब् पिता कै आग्या पाय् के टूनो समुद् के तीर् पर् गैलेन्; और् उहाँ के मल्लाह् से कहलेन्, की हम् के एक् मछरी कै काम् बाय्, से तै पकड़् दे; तब् मल्लाह् एक् मछरी ब्रकाय् के टुनहुन् के आगे लेआय् के धै दिहलेस्; तब् ओन्हं मे से एक् दुसरे के कहलेस् की तैं काहें नाँही उठाय् ले चलतेस्; तब् ऊ बोलल् की मैं भोज्ञनचतुर् बाटों; मो के ए कर् गंध् आवैले; तब् ऊ बोलल् की मैंहूँ[1] सयनचतुर् हौओं; ऐसे न उठैबो; ऐसहीं[1] उन्ह् टुनहुन् मे कगरा होवै लगल्; आखिर्[2] के टूनो लरत् लरत् राज्ञा के पास् गैलैं और् राज्ञा के आपन् समाचार् कहलैं; तब् राज्ञा कहलेस्, की तू टूनो ज्ञने हम् के परिच्छा यह्; तब् हम् तोहर् ब्रिया ज्ञानी; ऊ टूनो खज्ञ[3] भइलैं परिच्छा देवै के; तब् पहिले राज्ञा भोज्ञनचतुर् कै परिच्छा लेवै बदे अच्छी रसोईयाँ बनवौलैं; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर् कै भात्, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान् रिँधवौलेन्; और् भोज्ञनचतुर् के बलवाय्[4] के खाये के बैठौलेन्; तब् ऊ जैसे हीं भात् कै कवर् उठौलेस्, तैसेहीं ओ के ओ मे मुरदा[5] कै गंध् आयल्; से ऊ थरिया छोड़् के उठ् गयल्; तब् राज्ञा ओ के पुछलैं, की तैं काहे नाहीं खैले और् उठ् गैले? ऊ कहलेस् की भात् मे मुरदा के गंध् आवैले; तब् राज्ञा किसान् के बलाय्[4] के पुछलेस् की चाउर् कैसन् रहल् और् कहा से लेआय् के तै मो के दिहल? किसान् बोलल् की आपन् खेत् से; तब् राज्ञा पुछलेस् की ऊ खेत् केकर् हौ? तब् किसान् कहलेस् की ज़िमीदार्[6] से हम् मोल् लिहले रहली; तब् राज्ञा ज़िमीदार् के बलाय् के पुछलेस्, की ई भूँई कैसन् रहल्? तब् ज़िमीदार् बोलल्, की ई भूँई मुर्दघट्टा पहिले रहल्; तब् राज्ञा भोज्ञनचतुर् के कहलेस्, की तैं ठीक् भोज्ञनचतुर् हौवे; फेर् सयनचतुर् के बोलाय् के राज्ञा एक् अच्छी ब्रिक्ष्वनादार् खटिया ब्रिक्ष्वाय् दिहलेस्, और् ओ के सूतै के कहलेस्; ऊ सूतल्; लेकिन् ओ के राति भर् नींदू नाँही आइल्; एह् कर् वट् से ओह् कर् वट्, ओकर् वट् से एह् कर् वट् करत् रहल्; सवेरे राज्ञा ओ के बलौलेस्[4], और् कहलेस् की तैं राति भर सुख से सुतले? ऊ बोलल् की महराज समस्त राति मोके नींदैं नाहीं परल; राज्ञा पुछलैं काहे? ऊ बोलल् कि ब्रिक्ष्वना के परत

मे एक बार बाटै से मोरे देँह[7] मे गइल् रहल्; तब् राजा अपने नोकर् से बिछावन् उठवाय् के देखलेस तो ओ मे एक बारू देखायल्[8]; तब् राजा खुसी[9] होयके ओके कहलेस् कि तैँ ठीक् सयनचतुर् होबे; ए करे बाद् राजा उन् दुनहुन् कै बहुती तरह् से खातिरदारी कै के बिदा कैलैँ॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and हीँ are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. *standing,* here *ready.* 4) shorter form for बोलवाय्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرد. 6) pers. زمیندار. 7) for देह्, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی *joy*; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

c) The unfortunate Bráhman.

कौनो एक् ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्म्मा कुसुमपुर् गाँव मे रहत् रहल्; ऊ अपन् बियाह् देवस्वामी केहू अपने परोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिटिया से कैलेस्; से एक् दिन् की बात् हौ कि टूनो परानी अटारी-पर् सूतल् रहलैँ; एतने मे एक् कौनो बियाधर् ओही ओर् से अकास् मे बिमान् पर् चढ़ल् चल् जात् रहल्; से ओकर डीह् ओहे मेहरारू पर् पर् गइल्; ऊ, ओकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित् होय्, नीचे उतर्, ओके उठाय् लेगयल्; सवेरा भयल्, तब् सोमशर्म्मा अपने बिछौना के सून् देख् अपने स्त्री के चारो ओर् हेरै लगलैँ, लेकिन् पता न पौलैँ; तब् तो बौरहा के तरह् एहर् ओहर् घूमै लगलैँ और् भुखैलैँ[1]; तब् केहू गिरस्थ[2] के घर् जाय् कहलैँ कि हम् के कुछ् खाये के बदे द; ऊ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस् कि ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् बाय्, एके कुछ् दे; ऊ रसोँई मे जाय्, एक् दोना भर् खीर् ले आय् के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस्; ब्राह्मन् ऊ खीर ले के एक् नदी के तीर् पर् जाय्, कौनो पेड़ के जड़ पर् खीर् कै दोना धै के, हाथ् मुँह् धोऐ के बदे नदी मे गयल्; तब् ले एहर् ओहे पेड़ पर् से एक् करइत साँप् उतर् के, ऊ खीर् थोरेक्[3] खैलेस्, और् ओ मे अपने मुह् से जहर्[4] उगिल् के, फेर् ओही पेड़ पर् चढ़ गयल्; तब् ले ऊ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् जलदी से आये के ओहे दोना के सब् खीर् खाय् गयल् और् थोरी बेर् मे जहर् से बियाकुल् होय् के मुइ[5] गयल्॥

अब् एह् कथा मे ई बिचारल् चाही कि ओ करे मुअले कै हत्या के के भइल्, ओहे गिरस्थ् के, कि ओकरे मेहरारू के; कि ओहे साँप् के॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गृहस्थ्. 3) or थोरेक्, see § 291. 4) pers. زهر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मरब् *to die.*

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ERRATA.

p. II. l. 20. extends *for* extents.
p. III. l. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.
p. III. l. 23. Kachchhí *for* Kachhí.
p. IV. l. 29. however *for* howerer.
p. VI. l. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.
p. VIII. l. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.
p. IX. l. 29. and the short *for* and of the short.
p. XVII. l. 32. válakko *for* valakko.
p. XXIV. l. 17. what *for* wbat.
p. XXV. l. 33. Práchyá *for* Práchá.
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p. XXXVII. l. 11. comes *for* come.
p. XXXVII. l. 20. Prakás *for* Prakaṣ.
p. 17. l. 28. difficulty *for* difficully.
p. 56. l. 27. give thou *for* take thou.
p. 57. l. 5. सगऱ् *for* सगल्.
p. 61. l. 33. मोटल् *for* मोटल्.
p. 64. l. 31. ब्रईई or ब्रऱ्हई *for* ब्रहइ or ब्रऱ्हइ.
p. 65. l. 29. § 77 *for* § 74.
p. 70. l. 7. add: E. H. ब्रइल् or ब्रैल्.
p. 70. l. 10. ह्रीन् *for* ह्रीना.
p. 104. l. 34. ब्राउऱ् *for* ब्रउऱ्.
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p. 110. l. 24. चमोटा *for* चमोटो.
p. 110. l. 26. हिऱ्नोटा *for* हिऱ्णोटा.
p. 112. l. 23. गऱ्ब्राई *for* गऱ्ब्राइ.
p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोली.
p. 124. l. 10. ब्रेटा *son for* ब्रेटी *son.*
p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिव *for* चलिय् or चलिव्.

ADDENDA.

p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. अड्ढो° see § 416.

p. 88. rule 160. -न् becomes -ऊ in S., P., Mw. अंदो for अंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंज *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.

p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होरा for *अहोरा *three and a half*, see § 416.

p. 90. add rule 172a. इ is elided; rarely; E. H. होहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. इच्छइ, Skr. *इच्छायति, see p. 389, footnote.

p. 113. rule 227. The forms न and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृडन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; पीतनन *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृडतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.

p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एत; e. g. रगतेत *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.

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